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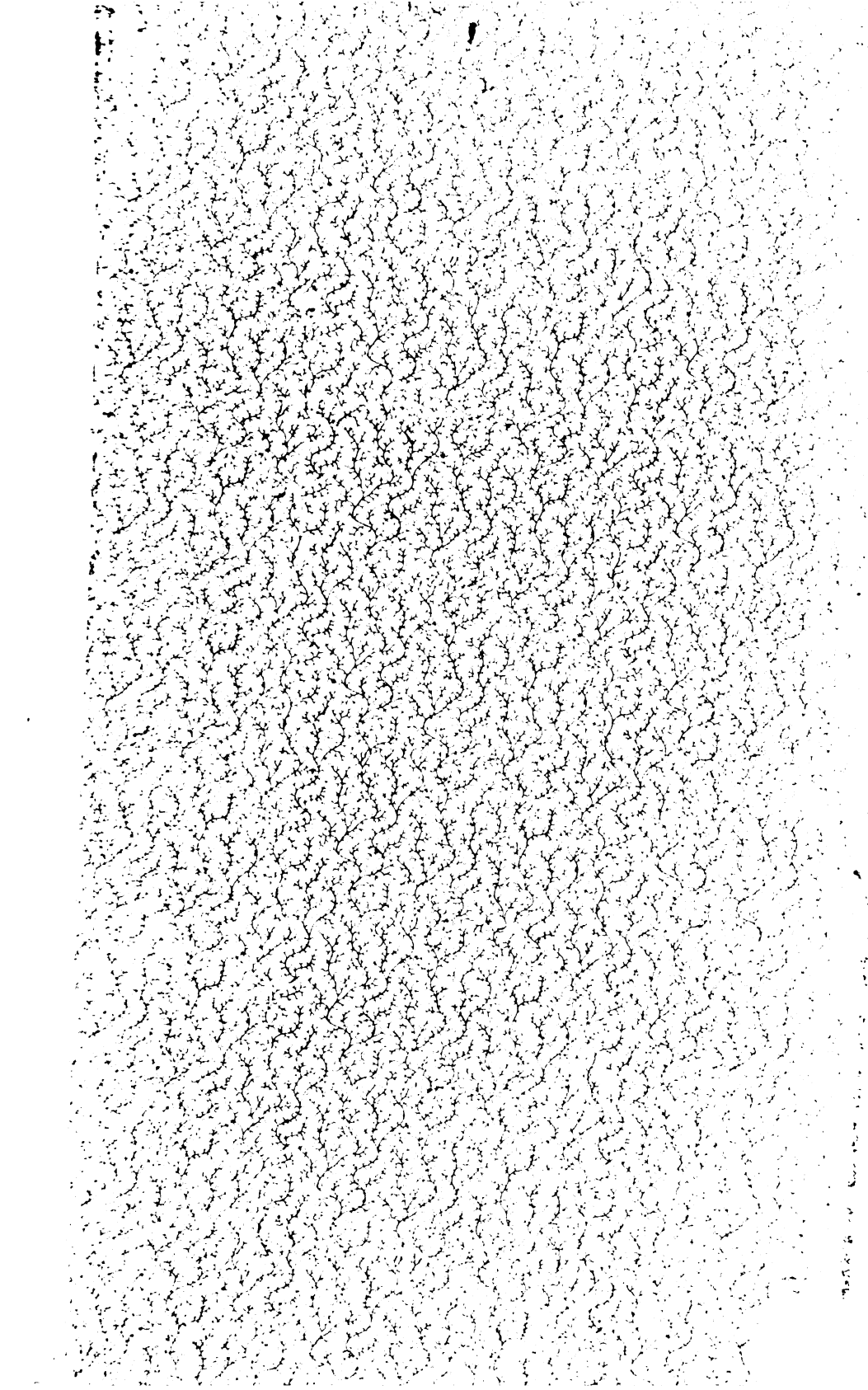
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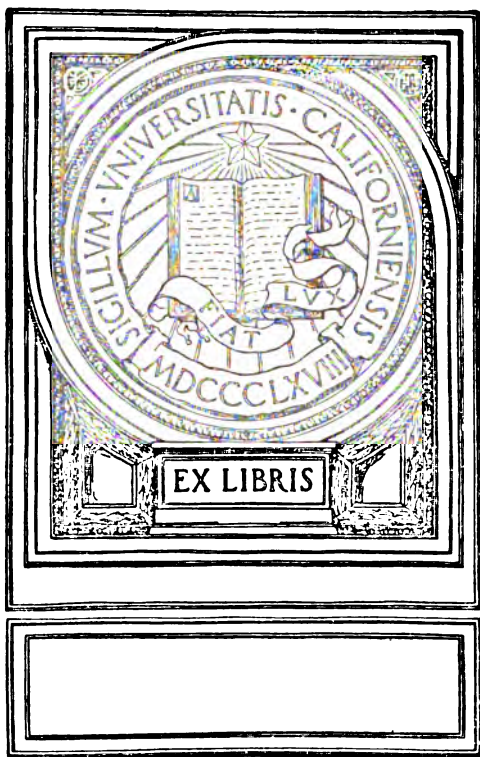
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THROUGH the generosity of the *Honorable*
Arthur F. Whitin, of Whitinsville, Mass.,
from which community many of the members
of the *Old Fifteenth* volunteered, every known
survivor of the regiment is presented with a
copy of this history, that the services and sacri-
fices of this regiment in their country's need may
be perpetuated.





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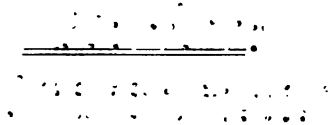
BREVET MAJ.-GEN. CHARLES DEVENS, JR.
COLONEL 15TH REG'T MASS. VOLS.

THE STORY
OF THE
FIFTEENTH REGIMENT

Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry

IN THE
CIVIL WAR
1861-1864

BY ANDREW E. FORD



CLINTON:
PRESS OF W. J. COULTER, : : : : : COURANT OFFICE
1898

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TO VINU
AIRPORT LIAO

PREFACE.

The officers of the Fifteenth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry held reunions October 21, 1864 and 1865. October 22, 1866, the regimental association was definitely organized. At the annual meetings of this association, which have been held on the anniversary of the battle of Ball's Bluff, the question of preparing a regimental history has often been discussed. As no one was found ready to write such a history, it was many years before anything resulted from this discussion. During this time many of the members of the regiment most capable of telling its story, or furnishing material therefor, had passed away, and the prospects that this ever would be told, by any one who had served in the regiment, had grown exceedingly slight. Still there were many who believed some account of the services of the regiment should be handed down to coming generations.

At a regimental reunion held October 21, 1894, "Captain David M. Earle advocated the immediate adoption of measures for the preparation of a history of the regiment. General John W. Kimball favored the suggestion, and moved that a committee consisting of Colonel John M. Studley, Captains David M. Earle, J. Evarts Greene and Thomas J. Hastings, Sergeant Edward A. Rice, Colonel Edward J. Russell, Sergeant-Major Francis A. Walker, and Captain George W. Rockwood, be appointed to arrange for the preparation of a regimental history. The name of General John W. Kimball

was added to the list, and the motion prevailed. This committee met and appointed Captains David M. Earle, Thomas J. Hastings and J. Evarts Greene as a sub-committee, and gave into their hands the entire charge of the historical work." At the regimental reunion held October 21, 1896, Captain Amos Bartlett, Colonel George C. Joslin, Colonel Henry S. Taft and George W. Mirick were added to the general committee.

On account of the difficulty of finding a historian, little was accomplished by this committee until the spring of 1897. At that time, through the suggestion of William J. Coulter, the committee was brought into communication with Andrew E. Ford of Clinton, and an arrangement was made with him for writing and publishing a history of the regiment, to be completed within two years from the date of the contract.

As the committee were thus obliged to engage the services of one outside of the regiment to prepare its history, it was deemed best that material furnished by members of the regiment—such as diaries and letters written from the front or papers prepared at a later date—should be used to as great an extent as was consistent with the unity of the work.

The author would hereby acknowledge his indebtedness to those whose writings have been quoted, and also to many other members of the regiment, a number too numerous to mention individually, who have assisted him. He would especially acknowledge the aid received from the members of committee in the way of material, suggestion and correction.

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FIELD AND STAFF OFFICERS.

- CHARLES DEVENS**, col.; b. Charlestown, res. cr. Worcester; 41; s.; lawyer; major 3d Batt. Rifles April 19, '61; m. o. July 20, '61; col. 15th Regt. July 15, '61; wd. B. B.; brig.-gen. April 15, '62, ass. April 27, '62; com. 3d brig. 3d div. 4th A. C., 18th div. 18th A. C., 1st div. 18th A. C., 3d div. 24th A. C.; wd. F. O., Chancellorsville; brevet maj.-gen. U. S. V. April 3, '65; com. Dist. N. E. Va., and Dist. S. C.; m. o. June 2, '66.
- GEORGE HULL WARD**, lieutenant-col.; b. res. cr. Worcester; 36; m.; machinist; brig.-gen. M. V. M., ass. 5th brig. 3d div. before war; lieutenant-col. 15th Regt. July 24, '61; lost leg B. B.; com. recruiting camp, Worcester, Feb. '62-Jan. '63; com. 1st brig. 2d div. 2d A. C. during much of the time Feb.-July '63; brevet brig.-gen. U. S. V. July 2, '63; d. July 3, wds. rec'd July 2d, Gett.
- GEORGE C. JOSLIN**, capt. Co. I; b. Leominster, res. cr. Worcester; 2d lieutenant. 3d Batt. Rifles April 19, '61; m. o. Aug. 3, '61; capt. Co. I Aug. 5; wd. wrist Ant.; major Nov. 13, '62; lieutenant-col. April 17, '63; col. Nov. 1, '63, never m.; pris. Nov. 27, '63; ex. Aug. '64; m. o. Aug. 9, '64.
- JOHN WHITE KIMBALL**, capt. Co. B, M.V.M. com.; major Aug. 1, '61; lieutenant-cot. April 29, '62; com. 15th Regt. in ab. superior off. April 28-Nov. 23, '62; col. 53d Regt. Nov. 10, '62, m. Dec. 3, '62; m. o. Sept. 2, '63; recruiting off. Wor. Co.; brevet brig.-gen. U. S. V. March 13, '65.
- CHASE PHILBRICK**, capt. Co. H; b. Sanbornton, N. H.; res. cr. Northbridge; 38; m.; stone-cutter; major April 29, '62; lieutenant-col. Nov. 13, '62; wd. Dec. 13, '62; com. 15th Regt. in ab. superior off. Nov. 23-Dec. 13, '62; m. o. April 16, '63.
- I. HARRIS HOOPER**, 2d lieutenant. Co. K; p. 13th N.Y. Vols. April 23-Aug. 6, '61; m. i. 15th Regt. Oct. 8, '61; b. res. cr. Boston; 29; s.; business; 1st lieutenant. adjt. June 9, '62; major April 17, '63; lieutenant-col. July 4, '63, never m.; asst. inspector gen. 2d A. C. Aug. '63; pris. B. B.; pris. July 26, '63, escaped Feb. '64, and rejoined regt. March 28, '64; com. 15th Regt. March 28-June 22, '64, in ab. superior off.; wd. body Dec. 13, '62, arm June 22, '64; m. o.
- LYMAN H. ELLINGWOOD**. See Co. F, I. R. Major July 4, '63; never m.
- WALTER GALE**. See Co. C, I. R. Major July 14, '64; never m.
- GEORGE A. HICKS**, 1st lieutenant. adjt.; 3d lieutenant. 3d Batt. Riflemen May 19, '61; m. o. Aug. 3, '61; 1st lieutenant. adjt. 15th Regt. Aug. 8, '61; b. Brooklyn, N.Y.; res. cr. Boston; 33; capt. asst. adjt. gen. U. S. V. Nov. 16, '61, Gen. Burns' staff; brevet maj. U. S. V. July 30, '64; m. o. Nov. 22, '65.
- GEORGE W. BALDWIN**, 1st lieutenant. adjt.; m. i. Nov. 27, '61; b. New Haven, Ct.; res. cr. Worcester; 29; s.; lawyer; capt. asst. adjt. gen. U. S. Vols. on staff Gen. Devens June 9, '62; both legs broken by fall of his horse down embankment at Fredericksburg; re. April 1863.
- W. G. WATERS**, 1st lieutenant., **ALBERT PRINCE**, 1st lieutenant., **E. J. RUSSELL**, 1st lieutenant., acting adjt. during winter '62 and '63; **D. M. EARLE**, 1st lieutenant., acting adjt. during Gett. campaign.
- DWIGHT NEWBURY**, p. Co. A; m. i. Dec. 5, '61; b. res. cr. Worcester; 23; m.; bookkeeper; sergt.-major April 9, '63; 1st lieutenant. adjt. July 4, '63; k. Nov. 27.
- NELSON V. STANTON**. See Co. H, I. R. Adjt. Dec. 1, '63.

- GEORGE O. WILDER. See Co. C, I. R. 1st lieutenant. com. Dec. 3, '63; m. and appointed adjt. June 4, '64.
- CHURCH HOWE, 1st lieutenant. q. m.; b. unknown, res. Princeton, cr. Worcester; 23; s.; accountant; ord. off. Corps Observation Jan. 21, '62; aide Gen. Sedgwick; capt. ass. Co. K Jan. 17, '63; brevet major March 13, '65; re. April 10, '63.
- WILLIAM B. STORER, 1st lieutenant. q. m.; m. i. Jan. 28, '62; b. unknown; res. cr. Cambridge; ass. Co. E; aide Gen. Devens May 11, '62; re. Jan. 2, '63; com. capt. asst. adjt. gen. U. S. V. June 7, '64; declined com.
- CHARLES H. EAGER. See Co. B, I. R. Q. M. May 11, '62-Oct. 10, '62.
- WILLIAM R. WHEELOCK, Co. C wagon master; 1st lieutenant. q. m. Oct. 10, '62; capt. ass. Co. G July 5, '63; q. m. 1st brig. 2d div. 2d A. C. Dec. 30, '63-April 6, '64; com. pioneers 2d div. 2d A. C. April 7, '64; m. o.
- WILLIAM BIXBY. See Co. H, I. R. Q. M. July 5, '63-m. o.
- FRANCIS A. WALKER, sergt.-major; b. Boston, res. cr. North Brookfield; 21; s.; student; 2d lieutenant. Aug. 12, '61, com. declined; capt. asst. adjt. gen. U. S. V. Sept. 14, '61, ass. staff Gen. D. N. Couch; major Aug. 11, '62; lieutenant-col. Jan. 1, '63; wd. Chancellorsville; pris. Aug. 25, '64; brevet col. U. S. V. Aug. 1, '64; brevet brig.-gen. U. S. V. March 13, '65; re. Jan. 9, '65.
- JOHN S. HALL. See Co. D, I. R. Sergt.-maj. Sept. 25, '61-Jan. 6, '62.
- HENRY G. BIGELOW. See Co. D, I. R. Sergt.-maj. Jan. 6, '62. There were several acting sergeant-majors while he was absent from wds. received at Ant.
- DWIGHT NEWBURY. See adjt. Sergt.-maj. April 9, '63.
- GEORGE O. WILDER. See Co. C, I. R. Sergt.-maj. Oct. 22, '63.
- DANIEL W. FREEMAN. See Co. C, I. R. Sergt.-major June 4, '64.
- WILLIAM R. STEELE, q. m. sergt.; b. res. cr. Worcester; m. i. July 24, '61; 19; s.; merchant; 2d lieutenant. May 11, '62; 1st lieutenant. Oct. 28, '62; brevet capt. and maj. March 13, '65; aide Gen. Webb; m. o.
- WILLIAM BIXBY. See Co. H, I. R. Q. M. sergt. May 1, '62.
- EDWARD A. RICE. See Co. D, I. R. Q. M. sergt. Dec. 8, '63.
- WILLIAM G. WATERS, com. sergt.; b. unknown, res. cr. Gorham, Me.;
- JOSHUA FREEMAN. See Co. C, I. R. Com. sergt. Jan. 1, '63.
- GEORGE W. FAULKNER. See Co. E, I. R. Com. sergt. Oct. 22, '63.
- HENRY L. DEARING, hospital steward; b. unknown, res. cr. Boston; m. i. Aug. 5, '61; m. o. May 25, '63.
- ALBERT H. GLEASON. See Co. A, I. R. Hospital steward April '63.
- JOSEPH N. BATES, surgeon; m. i. Aug. 5, '61; b. Princeton, res. cr. Worcester; 50; m.; physician; dismissed July 17, '62.
- SAMUEL F. HAVEN, JR., 1st lieutenant. asst. surgeon; m. i. Aug. 5, '61; b. Dedham, res. cr. Worcester; 30; s.; physician; major, surgeon July 21, '62; k. Dec. 13, '62.
- F. L. BARON MONROE, surgeon; b. unknown, res. cr. Medway; 26; physician; 1st lieutenant. asst. surgeon 1st Batt. L. Art. May 18, '61; m. o. Aug. 2, '61; 1st lieutenant. asst. surgeon 1st Regt. Sept. 3, '61; major, surgeon 15th Regt. Dec. 29, '62, reported for duty Jan. 25, '63; med. insp. gen. 2d A. C. July 23, '63; m. o. July 29, '64.
- CHARLES F. CHEBORE, com. asst. surgeon July 21, '62; declined com.
- HENRY ROCKWOOD, 1st lieutenant. asst. surgeon; m. i. Aug. 7, '62; b. unknown, res. cr. Westford; dis. Sept. 14, '63.
- THEODORE O. CORNISH, 1st lieutenant. asst. surgeon; b. res. unknown, cr. Millbury; m. i. Aug. 11, '62; m. o. July 29, '64.
- WILLIAM G. SCANDLIN, chaplain; b. England, res. cr. Grafton; m. i. Aug. 5, '61; 33; m.; clergyman; re. Aug. 12, '62.

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THE FIFTEENTH REGIMENT.

CHAPTER I.

THE ORIGIN OF THE REGIMENT.

THE Union Army was something more than a mere collection of men. It was an organism, with one vital spirit, which animated all its parts, as the life spirit animates all parts of the human body. Within this all inclusive organism there were other units no less complete in their individuality. Foremost among these was the regiment. The parts of the brigade, the division, the army corps, and the special army did not always act together. During the early years of the war at least, these organizations were too large, too diverse in their origin and too complex in their nature to attract the hearts of the men. But the regiment through similarity of elements, closeness of association and oneness in action, became the most distinctive unit in the volunteer service. The regimental flag was the symbol of this unity.

The flag of the country was always the symbol of nationality, the shrine of patriotism. The aspirations and the memories that clustered about the flag of the regiment, gave to it an added sacredness, peculiarly its own. The sight of it brought back to the soldiers the emotions which filled their hearts when that flag was presented to the regiment. It recalled the patriotic fervor, the ambition, the hope, the pain of separation from kindred and friends at their final departure from home, when that flag floated before them in all its fresh beauty. The monotony of camp life, its pleasures and

discomforts, the weariness of the march, the hush before the battle and the wild exultation of struggle were all written on its folds. Above all, it wakened memories of the comrades, with whom they had marched and fought. Although the flag worn out in the service may have given place to another, still the new was the regimental flag, no less than the old, a living thing, inspiring the hearts of all who followed it. It is this spirit which the flag typifies, the spirit of the Fifteenth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers, acting as a unit for the salvation of the country, which is the subject of our story.

Each regiment had certain peculiar characteristics from its date of muster. These characteristics were modified by the interaction of the men upon each other, by the nature of its own officers and those under whom it served, by the duties it was called upon to perform, and by everything the scientist includes under the word environment.

The character which a regiment brought into the service was due to the sources from which it was derived and the conditions under which it was organized. Men from each section of the country brought with them local traits. The organization of some regiments was such that in social relations there was a sharply drawn distinction between officers and men; in others, the officers and men had been social equals and all differences of rank were looked upon as artificial and temporary.

The characteristics of the Fifteenth Regiment which were due to its origin, were such as belonged in 1861 to New England, to Massachusetts, to Worcester County. Worcester County has no sea-coast and none of the industries which depend upon the sea for their support, but there are few other elements which enter into the idea expressed in the words New England or Massachusetts which are not here represented in all their fullness. Worcester County combines within its large area, portions of the marine plains, the southern prolongation of the White Mountains and the

interior valley of the Connecticut. In 1861, it stood first in agriculture among the counties of New England. There were great forests still growing upon its hill-slopes which furnished material to the saw-mills and furniture factories which were built upon its streams. The abundant water power had also given rise to woolen and cotton mills, to little comb shops and paper mills. The making of boots and shoes had already become a leading industry in many of the towns. There were also workers in iron and machinists among the inhabitants. A large number of merchants and clerks were required to supply the needs of this body of farmers and mechanics. The independence of farm life and the fact that labor had become little specialized in manufacturing, tended to make the people democratic in spirit. In matters of education, Worcester County was no less typical of New England as a whole. Here in the fifties the district school and the academy, the recently introduced graded school and high school, all flourished in great vigor. Here the Evangelical and Unitarian churches gathered within their sanctuaries most of those who were able to attend divine service. A substantial morality derived from a Puritan ancestry and fostered by the calm of village life characterized the people. In politics they had sympathized with the Whig party in its efforts to consolidate the country. Although under the leadership of such men as May and Higginson, the anti-slavery movement had taken deep root in the county, yet when the crisis came, the determination to maintain the integrity of the Union proved a stronger incentive to action than the desire to overthrow slavery.

The Fifteenth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers was composed of young men from these farms, factories, mills, shops and stores. Most of them had received at least a district school education, many had attended high schools and academies, and a few had diplomas from colleges and professional schools. Some were members of churches, and nearly all had come under their influence. They had all been

accustomed to social equality, so that those who became officers were not separated by any impassable gulf from the privates. Many had been deeply stirred by the wrongs of the slaves, and all were lovers of their country.

Of the thirty-four infantry regiments of three years troops which were organized in Massachusetts previous to 1863, and thus served their full term before the fall of the Confederacy, there were four: the Fifteenth, the Twenty-first, the Twenty-fifth, and the Thirty-sixth, which may be considered as distinctively Worcester County regiments. Of these, the Twenty-first and the Thirty-sixth had a far larger proportion of their men from outside of Worcester County than the Fifteenth and the Twenty-fifth. As the Fifteenth lost a large number of men early in the war, while the losses of the Twenty-fifth came much later, and as these losses of the Fifteenth were repaired by recruits during 1862, the total number of volunteers from Worcester County who entered the Fifteenth before the close of 1863 was much larger than the number of those who entered the Twenty-fifth during the same time. The new immigration of the fifties was found to a far greater extent in the Twenty-fifth than in the Fifteenth. A considerable portion of the soldiers of the Fifteenth were descended from men who had fought in the Revolution.

All but seven of the towns in the county had volunteers in its ranks. These towns received credit by the state for about fourteen hundred of its men, and many of those who were credited to other places were natives of Worcester County who had removed from its limits, but joined the Fifteenth because they preferred to serve with their friends and kindred. The influence of local association in these early enlistments has been aptly presented by General Francis A. Walker: "It is a surprising fact that among the thirty-one soldiers from this town (North Brookfield) who fell the victims of battle and disease, are found the representatives of nineteen different regiments, belonging to as many as seven states. How strangely this indifference,

manifested in the later years of the war, as to the circumstances of service, contrasts with the sentiment which animated the North Brookfield soldiers in 1861, when we united with two neighboring towns to form Company F, of the Fifteenth Regiment. Why, in those days, hardly one of our number would have thought that he could bring his mind to enlist in a strange regiment, or even in another company from that to which his schoolmates and his townsmen belonged. But we well know how soon that feeling wore off under the teaching of actual service, and that soldiers became almost strangely indifferent to the accidents of circumstances and surroundings, having learned that war is war anywhere and everywhere; that in its tremendous experience the petty fact of previous acquaintance goes for very little; that in the hardships and dangers of campaign, men lay the foundations of deeper and more intimate friendships than are possible in this peaceful and self-indulgent life of ours."

General Charles Devens once said: "This Fifteenth Regiment was peculiarly a Worcester County regiment, and within its limits, although its military designations were the same with all others, yet the companies were more frequently known by the name of the town where they were raised and had their headquarters before being consolidated into the regimental organization. I can no doubt repeat them all today: thus, Company A, was the Leominster company; B, the Fitchburg; C, the Clinton; D, the Worcester; E, the Oxford; F, the Brookfields; G, the Grafton; H, the Northbridge; I, the Webster; and K, the Blackstone. It had, it is true, many gallant soldiers who did not come from these towns, but from their immediate vicinity; but they were all of the county, and representative of the whole county, for there was no section that did not furnish some brave men to its ranks." In a broader way the regiment was also representative of the old Yankee stock as modified by the industrial, educational, religious, political and moral movements which belonged to the middle of this century.

Worcester County had entered with intense enthusiasm into the political campaign of 1860, and had given an overwhelming majority of her presidential votes for Abraham Lincoln. When South Carolina on the 20th of December had declared her connection with the Union dissolved, her action formed the one all-absorbing topic of discussion throughout the county. When, on the 5th of January, John A. Andrew in his inaugural address declared: "Until we complete the work of rolling back this wave of rebellion, which threatens to engulf the government....., we cannot turn aside and will not turn back," the citizens of the county as one man stood ready to follow whithersoever he might lead. When Major Anderson took possession of Fort Sumter they rejoiced; when the Star of the West was fired upon by the secessionists, they were stirred with patriotic indignation; when the Confederacy was organized, they could scarcely restrain their impatience; when Lincoln at last became president, they watched the course of events with the deepest anxiety, and when on the 12th of April Sumter was attacked, the zeal of the people for action knew no bounds. The following week the whole county was seething with excitement. On the 14th, Sumter fell; on the 15th, Lincoln issued his call for seventy-five thousand troops. Immediately some of the militia organizations which were ready were hurried away and steps were taken for forming new ones. On Friday, the 19th, the Massachusetts Sixth was attacked in the streets of Baltimore. In every town from Blackstone to Winchendon, the Saturday and Sunday which followed were days of patriotic fervor never before equalled. Meetings were called which were crowded by citizens. Men spoke with tongues of fire. Resolutions were passed, pledging property and life to the defense of the Union. Physicians offered their services free of charge to the families of all those who would volunteer. The eagerness for enlistment could scarcely be restrained and every need, real or imaginary, of those who were about to go forth was abund-

antly supplied. On Sunday, the pulpit proclaimed in no doubtful tones that the voice of patriotism was the voice of God. The towns in their corporate capacity were no whit behind their individual citizens. Town meetings were held as soon as due notice could be given. Party lines were obliterated. The most liberal appropriations were unanimously made. The comfortable support of the families of volunteers was guaranteed. Thus with one feeling and one purpose, the citizens of Worcester County prepared to take their part in maintaining the integrity of the Union. Such were the conditions under which the Fifteenth Regiment was born.

The military nucleus around which the Fifteenth Regiment was organized is to be found in three companies of the Ninth Regiment of the Massachusetts Militia as it existed in the years before the war. This Ninth Regiment, together with the Third Battalion Riflemen, and Third Battalion Infantry formed the Fifth Brigade of the Third Division. In the year preceding the war, there were five companies in the Ninth Regiment: Company A of Leominster, Company B of Fitchburg (known as the Fitchburg Fusiliers), Company C of Clinton (known as the Clinton Light Guard), Company E of Fitchburg (known as the Washington Guards), and Company G of Ashburnham.

The militia companies were the pride of the communities in which they existed. The military spirit found here an opportunity for exercise and soldierly ambition was fostered. The annual muster was made a patriotic celebration, and thus the militia served to keep alive the memories of those who had fought for their country. On the Fourth of July and other national holidays, it took part in many imposing pageants. In the Cornwallis it reenacted the final overthrow of the British armies. In the receptions to Kossuth and the Prince of Wales it represented the State of Massachusetts. The soldiers gained in drill something of physical culture and military discipline. In their social events the ideas

which the uniforms symbolized gave them distinction. The most enterprising young men served in its ranks and were ambitious to be numbered among the officers.

The enthusiasm with which the militia had been supported in earlier times had rapidly declined in the later fifties, so that many militia companies had been disbanded, but the condition of affairs at the presidential election of 1860 re-awakened the old military spirit. In the first general order of 1861, issued January 5, Governor Nathaniel P. Banks said: "The impending calamities that momentarily threaten the peace of our country will renew the attachment of the people to the militia, strengthen their faith in its necessity and their reliance upon its power."

January 16 came Governor John A. Andrew's famous General Order No. 4: "Events which have recently occurred and are now in progress, require that Massachusetts should be at all times ready to furnish her quota of troops upon any requisition of the President of the United States, to aid in the maintenance of the laws and the peace of the Union. His Excellency, the Commander-in-chief, therefore orders:—

"That the commanding officer of each company of the volunteer militia examine with care the roll of his company, and cause the name of each member, together with his rank and place of residence, to be properly recorded and a copy of the same to be forwarded to the office of the adjutant general. Previous to which the commanders of the companies shall make strict inquiry whether there are men in their commands, who from age, physical defect, business or family causes, may be unable or indisposed to respond at once to the orders of the Commander-in-chief, made in response to the call of the President of the United States; that they may be forthwith discharged, so that their places may be filled by men ready for any public emergency which may arise, whenever called upon." The order further calls for filling up all vacancies, drilling the men, and seeing that they have proper uniforms.

By General Order No. 12, the formation of the companies, regiments, brigades and divisions of the Massachusetts militia was brought into harmony with that of the United States troops. This order made some slight changes in the number of officers. Thus the rank of the third and fourth lieutenant was dropped. The minimum strength of a company was fixed at eighty-three, the maximum strength at one hundred and one. All commissioned officers were to be appointed by the Governor, although, as a matter of fact, the desire of the men of the company was generally recognized. In accordance with this order, all troops while in the service of the United States ceased to be a part of the militia of Massachusetts.

It was natural that the patriotic enthusiasm of the communities which had militia companies should seek its expression in affording them every means and incentive to enter at once into service. When the first threats of secession were heard, each of the companies of the Ninth Regiment was re-organized, so as to be ready for emergencies. In accordance with the order above mentioned, all who were unfit for active service were dropped from the rolls, and men who were able and willing to take up arms in defense of the Union enlisted in their places. All of the companies voted to hold themselves in readiness for any demands which might be made upon them by the government, and their commanders reported to Governor Andrew in January that their men "were not only ready, but anxious to serve." Thus it will be seen that though these men were not the first to go to the front, they were among the first to volunteer, long before any call had been issued by the President, and even weeks before Lincoln was inaugurated.

Although the men of the Ninth Regiment were thus eager to enter the service, yet in selecting the four regiments which formed the quota from Massachusetts under the President's call for seventy-five thousand troops, it was passed over in favor of organizations which were more com-

plete. Its brigade associates, the Third Battalion Rifles and Company B, Third Battalion Infantry (attached to Sixth Regiment), were among those who served for three months under this call.

Some of the companies of the Ninth Regiment would have been incorporated in the Sixth if some of the officers of the division and brigade had not insisted so strenuously on maintaining the integrity of the regiment. Yet, notwithstanding their efforts, the number of the regiment was eventually given to a new organization of three years' troops formed in Boston and vicinity and mustered in June 11, 1861, under the President's call of May 3, and while three companies of the Ninth, A, B and C, were incorporated in the Fifteenth, two, E and G, were organized with the Twenty-first. By the re-organization of some of the companies the old Ninth was kept up as a state militia regiment for some two years after the beginning of the war.

Before the services of any companies of the old Ninth Regiment were accepted, the government had seen the folly of enlisting men for three months, and had decided to receive no more enlistments for a shorter time than three years. The form of agreement required from each volunteer was as follows: "We, the undersigned, by our signature hereto annexed, do hereby severally agree to serve as members of the Massachusetts Volunteer Militia, in the Army of the United States, as volunteers, for the term of three years, unless sooner discharged, from the date of our being mustered into said service, in accordance with the terms of the proclamation of the President of the United States, issued May 3, 1861." The first requisition for three years' troops called for six regiments from Massachusetts. The First, Second, Seventh, the new Ninth, Tenth and Eleventh were ordered out, and so the companies of the old Ninth were again passed by.

Any complete statement of the conditions under which each of the companies of the Fifteenth Regiment was

organized, equipped and made ready for service, would involve much unnecessary repetition. Therefore a glance at the record of each must suffice.

The militia company in Leominster had originally been a company of artillery, and had been chartered in 1787. During the war of 1812, it had served at Boston for three months in defense of the coast. Later it was changed into an infantry company, and at the beginning of the Civil War it was Company A of the Ninth Regiment and was under the command of Captain George W. Rockwood. The spirit which animated the town of Leominster justified the assertion which was made at a town meeting held May 6: "The love of right so nobly vindicated by citizens of their native town in 1776, is still cherished here in 1861." Leominster furnished sixty-four men to the regiment at the outset, and ten later recruits.

The first sergeant of the company made this record concerning the final departure to camp:

"LEOMINSTER, June 28, 1861.

"Agreeably to orders, the company met at their armory at 8 o'clock A. M., and putting on their new uniforms, fitting some new members, after a short drill under the captain, numbering seventy officers and privates, they were dismissed till 11¼ A. M. When they met again, forming in line before the old armory, they gave it three rousing cheers before leaving for the seat of war. The company then marched into the street, where a large delegation of the citizens of Leominster under command of Mr. Ward M. Cotton, formerly captain of the old artillery company, forming a guard of honor, escorted the company to the Town Hall where a collation was in readiness for the members of the company and their friends.....At 12½ o'clock P. M. order was given to "fall in" and, escorted by the guard of honor, the company marched through the principal streets to the depot on the Fitchburg and Worcester Railroad where a halt

was made. The last "Good-bye" and "God bless you" were whispered to the soldiers by rosy lips and there was a last hearty grip of the hands between friends.

"Recorded by

"H. P. JORGENSEN,

"1st Sergeant of Co. A."

The company known as the Fitchburg Fusiliers was formed from the "Old South Company." It received a charter under the name of "Fitchburg Fusiliers" December 14, 1816. The company was organized February 3, 1817. It was Company B of the old Ninth Regiment, and at the beginning of 1861, was commanded by Captain John W. Kimball.

The news from Baltimore on the 19th of April roused the people of Fitchburg to the highest pitch of excitement. The next day a citizens' meeting full of most intense enthusiasm was held. April 27, a town meeting voted to appropriate ten thousand dollars for the soldiers and their families. On the same day there was a military parade in which Company A from Leominster participated.

May 16 was given up to a patriotic celebration in which the school children took part. On the evening of the same day the ladies presented to each of the companies a flag. In the course of Captain Kimball's eloquent acceptance of the flag for the Fusiliers, he caused his men to take an oath that "it should never trail in the dust while a single arm was left to uphold it." Meanwhile Co. B of the Second Regiment was recruited at Fitchburg, although most of its members were from other towns. This regiment was mustered in May 11, 1861. On the same day the Fusiliers voted to volunteer under the terms of agreement before given. The company was assigned to the Fifteenth Regiment, and ordered to report at Camp Scott June 28. The Washington Guards wished to belong to the same regiment as the Fusiliers, but were denied the privilege, and assigned to the

Twenty-first Regiment. On the morning of June 28, the people of Fitchburg gathered at the Town Hall to bid the Fusiliers good-bye. Speeches were made ; each soldier was presented with a New Testament ; a dinner was served ; the company was escorted to the station by men who had served in its ranks in former years ; the last farewells were said, and the soldiers went forth into the unknown. Governor A. H. Bullock said in 1866: "Fitchburg distinguished herself by the promptness, by the alacrity, by the prodigality of means and of men with which she entered upon the opening solemn drama in the early days of the war." Fitchburg furnished sixty-one of the members of the Fifteenth as mustered into service in July, 1861. Twelve more recruits were added at later times. Winchendon gave twenty-four men to the regiment in the summer of 1861 and three later recruits. In general these twenty-seven men served in Company B.

On the 12th of May, 1853, Col. Upton of the Ninth Regiment of the State Militia had organized a company of fifty men in Clinton. This company was known as the Clinton Light Guard, or as Company C, of the Ninth Regiment. At the regular annual meeting of the Town of Clinton, March 4, 1861, it was voted: "That one thousand dollars be appropriated for the benefit of the Clinton Light Guard, to be placed in the hands of the selectmen, to be paid out upon order of the officers of the Guards." By this vote, Clinton, according to the report of the adjutant-general, was the first town in Massachusetts to appropriate money in anticipation of a call for troops. As it was afterwards found that the towns had no authority to make an appropriation for such a purpose, permission was sought from the legislature, and granted by a special act, April 2. April 23, the one thousand dollars was appropriated for uniforms in accordance with this act. Sunday, April 21, a dispatch was received from Governor Andrew, ordering the Light Guard to be ready to go forward at twenty-four hours

notice. The local paper said: "Last Sunday was a day that will be remembered by us and our children. At noon Captain Henry Bowman of the Clinton Light Guard, received word that in all probability his company would be called out within forty-eight hours. Notices had been read in the churches in the morning, requesting our women to assemble at the vestry of the Baptist Church on Monday morning to make flannel shirts for the soldiers; but neither our wives, daughters, nor other women residing in town, thought it prudent to wait until Monday morning, and within an hour and a half the vestry was filled and crowded with workers, so that many resorted to the vestry of the Orthodox Church. Every yard of suitable flannel in town was soon cut and a messenger dispatched to Worcester for more." The men of the Light Guard were mustered July 12 into Company C, Fifteenth Regiment. Clinton furnished sixty-three of the original members of the regiment, and ten more were afterwards recruited in this town. The other men of Company C were for the most part recruited from Northboro, Lancaster and Worcester.

While all other companies of the Fifteenth were the first fruits of the patriotic impulse of the respective communities which they represented, the company furnished by Worcester had been preceded to the seat of war by several organizations from that city. The news of the attack on Fort Sumter reached Worcester Saturday, April 13. On the evening of the following day a telegram was received, stating that the fort had surrendered. The "Daily Spy" of Monday, the 15th, said: "Nobody remembers a similar excitement in Worcester. In the evening we found it necessary to print the dispatch in extras, which disappeared in the crowd as fast as they could be printed, for several hours. It would have been difficult for a stranger to tell which of the vehement Union men in the crowd were Republicans, and which were Democrats. They all showed an immovable purpose to stand by the country and defend

it to the last against traitors and all other enemies." There were at this time in the city two regularly organized companies of militia: the City Guards, Co. A, Third Battalion Rifles, and the Light Infantry. These companies were immediately filled and prepared for service. The Emmet Guards had previously tendered their services to the government. The city was prompt in making the necessary appropriations for supplying the needs of the soldiers. At a meeting of citizens held April 16, Hon. Alexander H. Bullock said: "Under no circumstances will there be a yielding to submission or disgrace. Better that the earth should engulf us, than yield our capital to the rebels who would seize it." A newspaper report says: "The meeting was unanimous, hearty and enthusiastic. All shades of opinion were represented, and for the first time within memory, Worcester was a unit on a great political subject." On the 17th, the Light Infantry, which was the first volunteer company mustered into the service of the United States, left Worcester to join its regiment, the Sixth. Two days later this regiment was attacked in the streets of Baltimore. The Light Infantry had passed through the city before the attack, and did not know of it until it was over. This company was one of the very first armed and equipped to enter Washington. When the news of the attack in Baltimore reached Worcester, as the particulars were unknown, a feeling of deep personal anxiety was added to the patriotic indignation that filled all hearts. Meanwhile, the Emmet Guards had been chartered as a part of the regular militia of the state, and joined to the Third Battalion Rifles. On the evening of the 20th, while the excitement caused by the attack on the Sixth Regiment was still at its height, this battalion, with its two Worcester companies, the City Guards and the Emmet Guards, left the city for the field. Thus within a week after the call of the President for seventy-five thousand men, Worcester had three companies in actual service.

By the 1st of May, a new militia company was formed, which was really an overflow of the City Guards, and it began to drill under the youthful Lieutenant John William Grout, better known as "Willie Grout." Albert H. Foster was made captain, but for some reason he was not commissioned, and Captain John M. Studley was placed in command. Albert H. Foster served honorably in the war as a captain of the Twenty-fifth Regiment. It was this, the first of the companies newly organized in the city for active service, which became Company D of the Fifteenth. As the Sixth Regiment and Third Battalion Rifles each served only three months, the men of this company were the first from the city to enlist as an organized body for a term of three years. The company drilled for nearly two months in Brinley Hall, afterwards G. A. R. Hall, on the site where the State Mutual Building now stands. There were nearly enough other Worcester men scattered through the regiment to form, if they had been united, a second company. Worcester gave in all to the Fifteenth two hundred and seventy-four men, one hundred and sixty-eight before August 8, one hundred and six later.

The spirit of patriotism was no less strong in the towns of the county which had no militia organizations. All through the opening months of 1861, every community was eagerly watching the course of events, ready to spring to arms at a moment's warning. Young men had everywhere begun to study and practice the elements of military tactics under the guidance of those who had served in the militia, and thus, when the time of organization came, a considerable number of men were found capable of becoming acceptable officers of the respective companies.

The people of Oxford held a meeting on the 19th of April, at which Hon. Alexander DeWitt presided. A committee was chosen to organize a company of volunteers and by April 22, enough men had offered their services to assure the success of the organization. A town meeting, held

May 6, voted to raise a sum not exceeding four thousand dollars toward paying the expenses of a volunteer military company in town, compensating its members, procuring uniforms and aiding families. The company was called the DeWitt Guards and the organization was completed May 4 under the militia laws of the state. May 6, arms were received from the state. It was voted at the town meeting of May 6, that the men be paid "one dollar a day for a time not exceeding twenty-four days—provided the company be required to drill six hours each day, the first roll-call to be at 8 o'clock A. M., unless the committee otherwise directed, and the last roll-call at 6 P. M." This was a common vote in other towns sending companies to the Fifteenth. It was also voted to purchase a suitable uniform for the company. This uniform was received and the equipments completed before June 1. On this date the DeWitt Guards visited Worcester. The Palladium said: "They are a hardy, able-bodied set of men, and as they marched through the principal streets on their arrival, their appearance was creditable to themselves, and especially to Captain Watson, under whose instruction they have been for the last three weeks." It is claimed that this company was "the first new organization in the state to appear armed and equipped in response to the President's call." While most of the original members were residents of Oxford, a few came from Charlton, Auburn, Millbury, Sutton and other neighboring towns. Worcester furnished eight men before the day of muster. In all Oxford gave sixty-two men to the Fifteenth at first, and twenty more later. The company drilled at Oxford until June 28 under the command of its captain, Charles H. Watson, who had some previous experience in military affairs. On that date it went to Camp Scott, Worcester, and the organization was afterwards known as Company E.

As soon as the news of the attack of the Massachusetts Sixth was received at North Brookfield, April 19, great placards were prepared with words like these:

“WAR ! WAR !! WAR !!!

“Our Massachusetts citizens have been murdered in the streets of Baltimore, while marching on their way to Washington to protect the capital of our country.

“All our citizens are requested to meet at the town hall this evening to see what can be done.”

At this meeting the hall was filled with men eager for action. The first steps were taken toward forming Company F, and a number of names were enrolled. The next evening there was another still more crowded meeting, and citizens of the neighboring towns were present. The brass band from Brookfield played national airs, and amid bursts of patriotic eloquence new names were added to the roll. A town meeting, held on the earliest practicable date, April 29, liberally furnished the necessary supplies for volunteers.

April 30, 1861, a town meeting was held in Brookfield, and it was voted: “That every person belonging to this town who should enroll himself in the company now being raised in this town and vicinity, for the purpose of volunteering its service to the Government, subject to the call of the Governor, shall, as soon as said company is accepted by the Governor, receive one dollar for every day he is called out to drill by the drill-master, or such officers as are authorized so to order.” Sardus S. Sloan, who had served in the militia, was made captain of the company. Provision was made for the purchasing of uniforms in conjunction with North Brookfield, and for getting an army blanket and revolver for each man. June 15, aid for soldiers’ families was voted. Brookfield originally gave forty men to the regiment and North Brookfield, twenty-seven. The former sent thirty later recruits and the latter, six. The other men of Company F came from West Brookfield, New Braintree, Sturbridge and other neighboring towns.

In Grafton a meeting was held at four p. m., April 20. A soldier of the Revolution ninety-eight years of age was on

the platform, and his presence helped to give point to the patriotic speeches. It was decided to form a military company at once. A town meeting was called April 29, and the sum of four thousand dollars was appropriated for organizing and equipping the company. Walter Forehand was made captain. The drilling of the men occupied the time until summons came to join the regiment in Worcester. On the morning of the Sunday before the departure Rev. W. G. Scandlin, the Unitarian clergyman, who afterwards became the chaplain of the regiment, preached to the soldiers and their friends. In the afternoon Rev. Thomas C. Biscoe preached from the text, "Quit you like men," and a pocket Bible was given to each volunteer. The organization was mustered as Company G, and had sixty-seven men from Grafton. There were nine men from the town in the regiment in other companies before it left Worcester, and twenty-one recruits were added later, making ninety-seven in all who joined the regiment from this town. This places Grafton next to Worcester in the number of representatives in the Fifteenth. -

Twenty-nine men from Sutton enlisted in the regiment at the outset. This is a larger number than came in the beginning from any other town not furnishing a company. They were mostly enrolled in the Oxford and Grafton companies. At a town meeting, April 30, six thousand dollars were appropriated for uniforming such inhabitants of the town as should serve in the armies and for providing for their families. At the same meeting it was resolved: "That in this most unnatural contest waged against our country by a band of traitors in the Southern States, we the inhabitants of Sutton, believing that the whole strength of the country should be exerted to put down the Rebellion, call upon the government to make no terms or compromises with traitors."

Captain Henry S. Taft gives the following reminiscences of the organization of Company H at Northbridge: "Early in January, 1861, I drew up a paper for the signatures of any

desiring to sign, pledging the signers to the defense of the government in case of need. That paper, though preserved, I cannot now find, and I am obliged to state from recollection its purport, which as well as I can recall is as follows: 'We the undersigned, believing that the integrity of the Union of the United States is being threatened and in danger of being assailed by traitorous hands and that an appeal to arms appears inevitable between the people of the Northern and Southern States, hereby pledge ourselves, our lives and sacred honor in the defense of our country and our flag and promise to obey any call to arms which may be made by the President of the United States for the defense of the Union.'

"This paper was signed by seventeen men, residents of Northbridge, and immediately drilling was commenced in the country store known as 'Plummer's Basin' during the evenings of the winter preceding the firing on Sumter. Having no guns, the men were instructed in marching, keeping step, etc., and from this nucleus the body of patriots composing Company H was formed.

"When the first call for troops was made by President Lincoln, the writer at once commenced to recruit a full company, and very quickly the young men of Northbridge, Uxbridge, Douglas, Sutton and Upton came pouring in, and the roll of the company was promptly filled with the flower of the five towns above named. Headquarters were established at Plummer's Corner, and the company was drilled upon the open plain in front of the Plummer Quarries, on the main highway from Providence to Worcester. We secured the services as drill-master of one of the most able and experienced military men in the State, Captain John M. Studley of Worcester, who came down every Saturday and took command of the company, drilled them in formations, marching, manual of arms, the latter without guns, and military tactics, and on each of the drill days large numbers of the inhabitants from the surrounding towns

gathered about the field and along the roadside to witness the evolutions of the soldiers and patriots."

From other sources we learn that a meeting was held in the chapel at Whitinsville, April 22. Pecuniary assistance was pledged, and fifty men volunteered. The first meeting of Northbridge as a town, to consider war matters, was held, May 8. It was voted: "To appropriate such sums of money as may be required, not exceeding four thousand dollars, to aid in uniforming and in obtaining such articles as may be needful for the comfort of such residents of the town as shall have enrolled themselves into a company of volunteer militia, to be formed in this town and vicinity.".... The company was finally organized with Chase Philbrick as captain, May 27. Northbridge gave sixty-four men to the regiment at first, with thirteen later recruits. Uxbridge, which gave fourteen men to the regiment at this time and five later recruits, was next to Northbridge in the numbers of its representatives in Company H.

A mass meeting was held in Lancaster, April 22. "Earnest feeling broke forth in impassioned speeches, and many lips became unwontedly eloquent under the inspiration of the occasion." Thirty men enlisted on the same evening, and there were ten later recruits. In addition to the forty men from Lancaster, there were enough from Bolton and Harvard to bring the total up to seventy-eight, and a company was formed, known as the Fay Light Guard. Thomas Sherwin, Jr. was chosen captain. After drilling for three weeks in Lancaster, the company went to Camp Scott to be joined to the Fifteenth as Company I. For some reason unknown Governor Andrew refused to commission Thomas Sherwin, Jr., as commander, and the men were so indignant that they refused to be sworn in under any other captain. Thomas Sherwin afterwards served with distinguished merit in the Twenty-second Massachusetts Infantry, which regiment he commanded at the battle of Gettysburg. Thirteen Lancaster men enlisted in Company C and six in other companies of the Fifteenth.

The place of the disbanded company was taken by a company from Webster, which did not join the regiment until August 6, two days before it started for the front. Sixty-two persons had enrolled their names in this Webster company April 20. It was known as the Slater Guards, and devoted itself to drilling from the time of enlistment until it was summoned to Camp Scott. At a town meeting held April 29, the company was taken under the care of the town, and such financial measures were passed as were necessary for its equipment, maintenance and support. James R. Young was chosen captain, but he declined his commission, and George C. Joslin was commissioned to this office. He had been for three years a member of the City Guards of Worcester, and had become a lieutenant in that company. He had served for three months as a lieutenant in the Third Battalion Riflemen. He was selected for the position of captain of the company by Colonel Devens, who knew his merit in his previous service. This company was not mustered until August 8. There were seventy-three Webster men in the regiment at first, with sixteen later recruits.

The spirit with which the men from Blackstone enlisted is shown by a resolution passed at a town meeting May 1st: "We hereby pledge our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor, that come weal or woe, we will never prove recreant to the Government to which we justly owe our allegiance, and from which we derive so many blessings—a Government which is the only formidable foe to despotism and tyranny, the last hope of civil and religious liberty in the world. That in this irrepressible conflict between freedom and slavery, every pulsation of our hearts is for freedom, and in her sacred cause we are ready to give battle; our watchword—the Government and the enforcement of laws; our banner—the stars and stripes." The customary arrangements for organizing and meeting the expenses of a company were made at the same meeting. Moses W. Gatchell, who had been especially instrumental in organizing the company, was

chosen captain. It had at first been proposed to have a Dedham company in the regiment, but the Blackstone company was substituted for it as Company K. Blackstone gave sixty-two men originally to the regiment, with seven later recruits. The remaining members of Co. K came from Millbury and other neighboring towns in Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Millbury gave the regiment twenty men at first and seventeen later.

June 17, Governor Andrew received permission to send forward ten more regiments, and immediately steps were taken for their organization from the remaining companies of the old militia and the new organizations which had been recently formed in anticipation of such a call.

By General Order No. 20, June 25, the companies proposed for the Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, Sixteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth, Nineteenth, Twentieth and Twenty-first Regiments were directed to report immediately to the Adjutant General a roll of the men ready for active service, giving the age, occupation and residence of each.

This record of the formation of the respective companies of the regiment shows in all the towns represented the same eagerness for service, the same readiness to make appropriations, private subscriptions and individual gifts for the good of the country. There was the same prevalence of local attachments influencing enlistments. The details of organization, equipment and final departure were so similar that the story of one of the newly organized companies differs but little from that of the others, and from April 20, onward, the same could be said of the three old militia companies as well. Thus, moved by one common impulse, supported and encouraged by the universal enthusiasm of the communities from which they came, these new companies united to form the Fifteenth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers.

CHAPTER II.

FROM CAMP SCOTT TO CAMP FOSTER.

JUNE 28 TO OCTOBER 19, 1861.

CAMP SCOTT, named in honor of General Winfield Scott, was a tract of land of about thirty-nine acres, situated on the Brooks Farm in South Worcester, some two miles from the City Hall. It was surveyed June 4, by Engineer Davis, one of General Ward's staff officers. A storehouse forty feet by twenty was erected during the first week in June. On the morning of June 28, the members of Company D, under the direction of General Ward, set up the tents needed by the companies which were to arrive on that day. According to the requisition there were sixty company tents and forty officers' tents. Church Howe had been appointed quartermaster, June 25. He had left Worcester as a private in the Sixth Regiment, April 17. The business ability which he displayed led to his promotion to the rank of commissary sergeant of that regiment. He was granted a furlough for the remainder of his term of service in the Sixth, that he might enter at once upon the duties of his new appointment. By Friday, June 28, he had everything in readiness. There were one thousand and forty-six woolen blankets, the same number of rubber blankets, bed sacks, knives, forks, spoons, tin cups and plates. There were one hundred and forty-six mess pans, and seventy camp kettles, together with an abundant supply of buckets, tubs, rakes, lanterns and other things necessary for camp life. Bread,

meat, coffee, sugar and various other articles of food had been laid in store.

Company F, which came first, arrived before one o'clock. The other companies reached camp between two and three. In all there were eight hundred and one men who came together on that June afternoon. With the exception of those who had served in the old Fifth Brigade and had met on the muster-field, the men of the different companies were for the most part strangers to each other and unaccustomed to the mode of life upon which they were entering. Although we, knowing what they were destined to pass through, may imagine that they were filled with deep emotions as they first saw their future comrades, yet it is likely that they, little foreseeing the future, were especially affected by the unfamiliar newness of their surroundings as they approached their gleaming canvas homes.

Order No. 1, regulating their camp life, had been already prepared. It read as follows:

"HEADQUARTERS CAMP SCOTT,
Worcester, June 28, 1861.

"Order No. 1.

"The selection of the above name for this camp has been determined by a just appreciation of the distinguished merit of one who has for more than half a century been identified with the military of our country.

"It is taken for granted that officers are neither ignorant of the first principles of military duty, nor destitute of ordinary judgment. A brief synopsis merely is here given of some important rules and regulations. These are to be regarded as a part of this order, and all officers are hereby enjoined to enforce a strict compliance with them.

"Officers are presumed to have gained some theoretical acquaintance with both their rights and their duties, as their position demands, and they are hereby reminded that they are expected not only to discharge with fidelity the latter, but to maintain with firmness and dignity the former.

"This order will be duly promulgated and copies distributed.

By command of

BRIGADIER-GENERAL GEORGE H. WARD.

GEORGE H. SPAULDING, *Brigadier-Inspector pro tem.*"

HOURS FOR DAILY DUTIES.

"Reveille at five o'clock, A. M.—signal for men to rise, when the quarters will be cleaned up, and everything put in proper condition.

"Peas upon a trencher at seven o'clock, A. M.—signal for breakfast.

"Dress parade at eight o'clock, A. M.—guard mounting immediately after.

"Roast beef at twelve o'clock, M.—signal for dinner.

"Retreat at six o'clock, P. M., at which time the officers will be named for duty, and each first sergeant will detail the men of his company for the guard of the ensuing day. There will be a dress parade at retreat.

"Tattoo at ten o'clock, P. M.—signal for the soldiers to repair to their tents, where they must remain till reveille next morning.

"Taps at half-past ten o'clock, P. M.—signal to extinguish lights."

ROLL CALLS.

"Three will be three roll calls daily, the first immediately after reveille, the second immediately before retreat and the third immediately after tattoo.

"All officers in uniform may pass the chain of sentinels between reveille and retreat.

"No officer shall, on any account, sleep out of camp without permission from the commander of the camp.

"No officer or soldier shall be absent from any duty whatever without permission from the commanding officer.

"No non-commissioned officer, musician or soldier, shall

quit camp without a written pass, signed by his captain, and approved by the commanding officer.

"All persons, of whatever rank, are required to observe the greatest respect towards sentinels, and no officer or other person shall make use of any disrespectful language or gesture to a sentinel at his post."

Until Saturday night the men spent their spare time in arranging for their future comfort, especially in the culinary department. Each company had a stove, and members were detailed to cook the messes. By Monday "everything about the encampment appeared as if it was the development of a long studied and well matured plan." The whole seemed "like clockwork."

On Sunday, June 30, in accordance with the command of General Ward, few visitors were admitted inside the lines. Religious services were conducted by Alonzo Hill, D. D., at six o'clock P. M. The regiment opened the exercises by singing "Old Hundred," and closed them with "America." Dr. Hill's address developed the thought that service for one's country was service for God. On the following Sundays other clergymen took charge of the meetings. Among these were Rev. Merrill Richardson and Rev. Horace James. There were also religious meetings held in a neighboring grove, at nine A. M. and four P. M. These were conducted by the soldiers, many of whom were accustomed to take part in prayer and conference meetings at home. There was no mid-day drill on Sunday.

Most of the time spent in Camp Scott was devoted to drilling. From six to seven there was the company drill; at eight, dress parade followed by guard mounting; from ten and a half to twelve and from two to three, company drill; from four to half-past five, battalion drill; at half-past six came dress parade again. General Ward was, through his character, his devotion to military pursuits and his long experience in the militia, pre-eminently adapted to bring a

body of raw recruits into a proper degree of discipline. Many of the officers of the various companies were men well fitted for their task. With such excellent drill under such leaders, the regiment quickly acquired a good degree of efficiency.

July 4, a flag was raised at the headquarters of General Ward. Company E also displayed the stars and stripes. Several of the other companies within a few days followed the example set by that from Oxford. Evergreen was used to beautify the tents and streets. There were inscriptions on strips of board above the openings of the tents, such as "The Happy Family," "Fifth Avenue Hotel," "Old Abe's Parlor," "Social Circle," "Liberty Hall." At first the men were obliged to go a considerable distance for water, but soon two excellent wells were opened which furnished an abundant supply for all purposes. This added greatly to the neatness of the camp, as well as to the health of the men. Gifts of fruit, havelocks, clothing, books and various articles to satisfy the appetite and render life more comfortable, came from patriotic people in the city and from friends at home.

The discipline of the camp was excellent, and the men were not long in learning that the orders of the officers must receive prompt attention, even though there had been previously little social distinction between the privates and those now in command. It was necessary to make examples of a few of those who were most careless; thus on Sunday, July 7, a man was drummed out of camp for disobedience. Squads of recruits were constantly arriving to fill up the companies. July 8, only fifty-nine men were lacking to make the number in the regiment complete.

Governor John A. Andrew, with three members of his staff, visited the camp, Friday, July 12, and witnessed the dress parade and battalion drills. They complimented the regiment highly for its proficiency. About eleven o'clock on the same day, Captain Joseph A. Marshall of the U. S.

Army came to camp, and the men of the nine companies were sworn by him into the service of the United States. Only eight of those who had come to camp refused to be sworn.

The field, staff and line officers of the regiment as finally mustered were as follows:

FIELD AND STAFF OF THE FIFTEENTH REGIMENT.

Colonel,	Charles Devens, Jr.,	Worcester.
Lieut.-Colonel,	George H. Ward,	Worcester.
Major,	John W. Kimball,	Fitchburg.
Adjutant,	George A. Hicks,	Boston.
Quartermaster,	Church Howe,	Worcester.
Surgeon,	Joseph N. Bates,	Worcester.
Assistant Surgeon,	S. Foster Haven, Jr.,	Worcester.
Chaplain,	William G. Scandlin,	Grafton.
Sergeant-Major,	Francis A. Walker,	N. Brookfield.
Qr.-Sergeant,	William R. Steele,	Worcester.
Com.-Sergeant,	William G. Waters,	Clinton.
Bandmaster,	N. P. Goddard,	Worcester.
Hospital Steward,	Henry Dearing,	Worcester.

LINE OFFICERS.

Co. A, Leominster.

Capt., George W. Rockwood.
 Lieuts., Leonard Wood.
 Frank W. Polley.

Co. F, Brookfield.

Capt., Sardus S. Sloan.
 Lieuts., J. Evarts Green.
 Lyman H. Ellingwood.

Co. B, Fitchburg.

Capt., Clark S. Simonds.
 Lieuts., J. Myron Goddard.
 Charles H. Eager.

Co. G, Grafton.

Capt., Walter Forehand.
 Lieuts., Newell K. Holden.
 Stephen L. Kearney.

Co. C, Clinton.

Capt., Henry Bowman.
 Lieuts., Andrew L. Fuller.
 James N. Johnson.

Co. H, Northbridge.

Capt., Chase Philbrick.
 Lieuts., Henry S. Taft.
 Richard Derby.

Co. D, Worcester.

Capt., John M. Studley.
 Lieuts., Edwin P. Woodward.
 John William Grout.

Co. I, Webster.

Capt., George C. Joslin.
 Lieuts., Amos Bartlett.
 Frank S. Corbin.

Co. E, Oxford.

Capt., Charles H. Watson.
 Lieuts., Nelson Bartholomew.
 Bernard B. Vassal.

Co. K, Blackstone.

Capt., Moses W. Gatchell.
 Lieuts., Edwin B. Staples.
 I. Harris Hooper.

In order that we may understand the story of the regiment, it may be well for us to glance at the previous record of some of these men who were to have so deep an influence on its character.

Charles Devens was born in Charlestown, Mass., April 4, 1820. He attended the Boston Latin School. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1838. Two years later he was admitted to the bar. He practiced as a lawyer, first in Northfield and later in Greenfield. He was state senator in 1848 and 1849. He was United States marshal from 1848 to 1853. He was called upon in this office to assist in the execution of the fugitive slave law under circumstances which left him no alternative, but the generosity with which he offered to give the purchase money of the slave whom he had been under legal obligations to return to his master, called forth the admiration even of the most ardent Abolitionists. He opened a law office in Worcester in 1854. In December, 1856, he became the law partner of George F. Hoar and J. Henry Hill. He was city solicitor 1856-8.

Monday, April 15, 1861, when Lincoln's call for seventy-five thousand volunteers reached Worcester, he left unfinished a trial in which he was engaged, hurried away, and offered his services to the government. He became major of the Third Battalion Rifles Massachusetts Volunteers, a three months' organization. April 20, he went to the South, and was stationed at Annapolis and Fort McHenry. He

was appointed to the command of the Fifteenth Regiment, July 15.

He was in the prime of life. He brought to the position a lofty patriotism and an ambition for military glory derived from ancestors who had served the country in the Revolution and the War of 1812; a great heart, responsive no less to the call of the humble soldier than to the demands of country and humanity; an intellect, powerful by nature and developed by the broadest culture and a wide range of practical experience. As he represented all that was noblest in the traditional character of New England, he was well fitted to become the leader of its most representative regiment.

The picture of the lieutenant-colonel, George Hull Ward, has been drawn by his friend, General A. B. R. Sprague:

"Colonel George Hull Ward was born at Worcester, Mass., on the 26th day of April, 1826. He was from good military stock. His father, Col. Artemas Ward, was enrolled as a soldier in the militia in 1821, was made captain of the Worcester Light Infantry, and rose to the command of his regiment the same year our gallant friend was born. He was named after one of the early pastors of the Old South, of which his parents were honored members, and it was their intention that he should be educated for the ministry, but after passing with honor through the common and high schools, he gained their consent to choose his own vocation, and after years of close application, at the age of twenty-one he became a skilful machinist. At the age of sixteen the death of his mother and sister brought a burden of sorrow which bore heavily upon him and made him thoughtful as well as self-reliant beyond his years. At twenty-one he enlisted in the Worcester City Guards, and through various grades rose to the command in 1852. His thorough knowledge of the duties of commanding officer eminently fitted him to maintain the company in a high state of discipline. From its ranks thirty-one field and line officers followed the fortunes of the old flag in the armies of the Union.

"Colonel Ward was a born soldier, of fine physique and commanding presence, quick in movement and speech, a gentleman in manner; his sunny smile shone through the repose of his manly face. He had risen to the rank of brigadier-general of the Fifth Brigade of Massachusetts Volunteer Militia just before the war began, and with personal knowledge and without fear of contradiction, I affirm that in the school of the soldier, the company, the battalion and evolutions of the line, as an organizer and disciplinarian, he had no superior in the volunteer militia."

The major, John W. Kimball, was chosen from among the captains of the companies on account of his pre-eminent fitness for the position. He was at this time thirty-three years of age, having been born in Fitchburg, February 27, 1828. His father, Alpheus K. Kimball, had been captain of Company B in 1818, two years after its formation. The son was educated in the public schools of Fitchburg, and then went to work with his father, who was a manufacturer of farming tools. He was engaged in this business until the beginning of the war.

John W. Kimball's name was entered upon the rolls of the company in which his father had served so many years before. He went through all the grades of office and became captain in 1855. After holding this position for two years, he was made adjutant of the Ninth Regiment. When the threatening condition of affairs began to awaken the people of the North to the necessity of a vigorous militia, he was recalled to the command of Company B as being the one man most capable of bringing it into the highest state of efficiency. When the danger of war became more imminent, he used his utmost energies to make his company fit for service, and it is said that he was the first militia captain in the State to send to the Governor a letter signifying that his company was in readiness to answer such demands as might be made upon it.

Major Kimball, like Lieutenant-Colonel Ward, may be

looked upon as a representative product of the old militia system. His association with brother officers in the annual musters and other gatherings of troops had given him a wide acquaintance and broad outlook, and had made military patriotism a predominant characteristic. He had acquired a thorough knowledge of the technicalities of the service as it existed in time of peace, and had developed his natural capacity for directing and controlling men. The sterner test of war was to reveal in him all the qualities most needed in a regimental commander. He was a strict disciplinarian, yet beloved for his goodfellowship. He united inflexibility of purpose with unvarying tact. As a subordinate, he yielded implicit obedience; as a commander, he exacted it. He joined coolness with bravery and readiness of resource in emergencies with the most rigid firmness.

The chaplain, Rev. William G. Scandlin, was a native of England. He had been a sailor, and had served in the English navy ten years. After he came to this country he was on the U. S. S. Ohio one year, and he was for three years employed on whaling voyages. He came under the influence of the famous Father Taylor, who was struck by his talents, and persuaded him to take a theological course at Meadville. When the Civil War opened he was pastor of the Unitarian Church in Grafton. When he felt it his duty to offer his services to the country, his parish refused to accept his resignation, but granted him a temporary leave of absence. He was a great, hearty, whole-souled man, intensely in earnest in whatever he undertook. A friend said of him: "Everything he does is forcible. If he talks he does it with emphasis; if he walks, his boot-heels come down with a resonant thump; if he laughs, the merriment is infectious."

The sergeant-major, Francis A. Walker, did little service in the regiment, as he was immediately called to higher duties elsewhere. Yet to the Fifteenth Regiment belongs the honor of first receiving into its ranks this most illustrious

soldier and distinguished citizen. The adjutant, George A. Hicks, who had previously served in the Third Battalion Rifles, also left the regiment November 15, 1861, to become Assistant Adjutant General, U. S. Volunteers. Church Howe has already been mentioned. The other field, staff and line officers we shall have occasion to notice in connection with the succeeding narrative. The members of the regimental band, for the most part, had formerly belonged either to Joslyn's Band or to the National Band. It was organized under N. P. Goddard as leader. It was not mustered until August 5.

July 17, new overcoats, knapsacks and canteens reached Camp Scott, and were delivered to the men. It was not until the 26th that the full complement of muskets was received. These muskets were of the old smooth-bore pattern, so badly worn that many of them were unfit for use. The men did not at first, however, realize the wrong which had been done them.

The establishment of the Twenty-first Regiment at Camp Lincoln, July 19, served to divide the attention of those who visited the soldiers merely from curiosity. Yet the crowds continued to come from the city by the Norwich and Worcester Line, by carriages and on foot. July 4. and Sunday, July 28, were the great visiting days. The fact that John B. Gough was to address the soldiers on the last mentioned day, drew many to the camp.

July 29, Companies C, D, E and G acted as an escort to the Thirteenth Regiment as it crossed the city on its way to the front. Companies D and H took part in the reception of the Sixth Regiment when it returned home August 1, and on the following day a detachment from the regiment assisted in receiving the Third Battalion Riflemen when that organization arrived in Worcester.

The battle of Bull Run caused the government to hurry forward all the troops which were in readiness. So the Fifteenth Regiment was summoned. During the first week

in August, everybody was busy with preparations for going to the front. The regiment received one hundred and thirteen horses, twenty-five army wagons, two hospital wagons and three ambulance wagons. The regulation army uniform also came to the men. It consisted of light blue trousers, dark blue coats and black hats. August 4, the camp presented a deserted appearance, because so many men had gone home on their final furloughs. August 8, the members of Company I from Webster were sworn into service. Thus the regiment was made complete.

August 7, a flag was presented to the regiment by the ladies of Worcester. As it was a stormy day, the presentation was made at City Hall, rather than under the open sky, as had been originally proposed. The field and staff officers of the Fifteenth, together with some of the line officers, accompanied by the regimental band, were escorted to the hall by the officers of the Twenty-first Regiment. Mayor Isaac Davis presided. Alonzo Hill, D. D., offered prayer. The ladies, through whose efforts the flag had been obtained, were present, and in their behalf Hon. George F. Hoar gave the flag to Colonel Devens as the representative of the regiment. He said :

"Colonel and Officers of the Fifteenth Regiment:

"I am deputed by the ladies of Worcester to present to you this banner. Eighty-four years ago today there was mustering in these streets, the first regiment ever raised in Worcester county for actual warfare, the Fifteenth Regiment of the Massachusetts line. What hard-fought fields at Monmouth and at Trenton, what sufferings at Valley Forge, what glory and victory at Saratoga and Yorktown, have made that name famous, history has recorded. And now that, for a second time, Worcester County sends out to battle a full regiment of her sons, by a coincidence too appropriate to be called accident, the name which your fathers rendered illustrious, has been allotted to you. What they won for us, it is yours to preserve for us,

"The ladies of Worcester desire to testify, that while you strive to emulate the courage and self-devotion of your fathers, they still cherish the sentiments which animated the mothers of the revolutionary times.

"Take this banner, as a token that there are those at home to whom the cause in which you are enlisted is precious. As you look upon its folds, blazoned with the dear emblems of the country, let it bring the thought of the mothers, sisters, wives, without whom country would be worthless. Amid the hardships and temptations of the camp and the dangers of the battle-field, let it witness to you that there are those to whom your welfare is dear. Absent, but with most intense spiritual presence, wherever you go, whatever you may suffer or dare, they will be with you. And when you return, your duty all well done, liberty re-established, law vindicated, peace restored, bring back with you this flag. Know that

'—— There are bright eyes that will mark
Your coming, and grow brighter when you come.'

"If, when next they look upon it, they shall see those folds, now so beautiful and pure, blackened by smoke, or torn by shot and shell, it matters not, if there is no rent in the Union of which it is the symbol, no stain on the honor of the sons of Worcester to whom it is entrusted."

After the band had played "The Star Spangled Banner," Colonel Devens accepted the flag with these words:

"*Mr. Hoar:*

"I accept this beautiful banner, which you have presented to the regiment under my command, in behalf of the ladies of Worcester. I lay hold of this emblem as the symbol of all that is glorious, which has been respected wherever it has floated on land and sea, and which I believe, from the bottom of my heart, shall yet be respected wherever it may float, whether it be in the field or the fortress, or from the wave-rocked topmast. May God give me strength

to perform fully the task this day undertaken, to aid in up-bearing that standard in the contest before us, that the fame of those who have gone before us, in defending our country from foes without and traitors within, be not dimmed. There is, indeed, a remarkable coincidence, as you have so well said, in the name of the regiment which I have the honor to command, being numbered the same as that commanded during the revolutionary war by Colonel Timothy Bigelow, over whose remains yonder proud monument was, three months ago, erected with such inspiring ceremonies. It is indeed a most fortunate omen. I trust that some of the spirit which animated our ancestors has descended upon the present sons of Worcester county, and that they will be able to render an equally good account of their labors. I know that they stand ready to defend that flag, as much dearer than life as honor is dearer; that they will not 'suffer a single star to be obscured, or a single stripe erased' from that glorious symbol of our national union. I am unable to predict as to our return; yet this symbol shall be returned to the ladies of Worcester untarnished. Defeat, disaster and death may come to us, but dishonor never. I know well, from three months' experience, how much the aid of ladies has contributed to the welfare of troops in the field, and we shall be doubly encouraged by them to do everything which can be done in the performance of our duty, cheered by their approving smiles upon our endeavors."

Mayor Isaac Davis addressed the officers of the regiment in behalf of the city. "Hail Columbia" was played, and the waving of the flag from the platform was accompanied by cheers for the colors of the Fifteenth Regiment.

In connection with the allusions to the Fifteenth Massachusetts Regiment of the Revolution, the introduction of Colonel Bigelow to his brother officers by Washington, may well be noticed. Washington said: "This gentleman, officers, is Colonel Bigelow, and the Fifteenth Regiment of the Massachusetts line is under his command.... He marched

the first company of minute-men from Worcester at the alarm from Lexington. He shared largely in the sufferings of the campaign against Quebec, and was taken prisoner there. After his exchange he raised a regiment in his own neighborhood, and joining the northern army under General Gates, participated in the struggle with Burgoyne, and shares largely in the honor of that victory." In the later years of the war Colonel Bigelow and his men served no less valiantly. Such was the regiment whose name and character were transmitted to the Fifteenth Massachusetts of the Civil War.

Even before our regiment left the state, the process of sifting out those who were physically unfit for service was begun. During the early days of August, eleven men were discharged for disability. One was recorded as a deserter at Camp Scott and two more on the way to Washington.

August 8, the regiment struck camp. After a parade on Main Street which lasted about an hour, the cars were taken for Norwich. The Spy says: "Colonel Devens and the staff and field officers were mounted. The men wore their new army uniforms, and with their handsome banner and their military band, made a brave show, and looked worthy to bear the regimental number that Worcester County soldiers had made famous in the war of the Revolution. The regimental band was preceded by the tall form of the new drum-major, Paul Bauer. Crowds of people followed them to the cars, many of them near and dear friends of the departing soldiers. The train consisting of twenty four long cars left the Common while the Old South clock was striking six, amid the parting cheers of the assembled thousands."

The regiment arrived at Norwich soon after eight o'clock and went on board the steamer "Connecticut" at Allyn's Point at half-past ten o'clock. On account of the storm and the time required for the movement of baggage, it was after midnight when the boat started. As the cooked food was sent on by another route, and some of the men neglected

to put rations in their haversacks, many went supperless. The boat reached New York at eleven o'clock. There the men breakfasted, some on the boat and some on the wharf. The soldiers for the most part spent the day on or near the boat, and at six P. M. took the steamer "Transport" for South Amboy, whence they went to Philadelphia, where some arrived at four A. M. One of the men wrote: "On our way to Philadelphia the cars became separated, and the fact was not discovered until the advance portion of the train had proceeded so far that it was not thought best to go back, and so it went on, reaching Philadelphia with only three companies on board, losing seven somewhere on the road between South Amboy and Philadelphia." It was two hours and a half before the other seven companies arrived. Here, the men had "the best meal since leaving Massachusetts," through the kindness of the patriotic people of that city. They also had "a good wash all round." "Philadelphia was the first and only city where the pleasing sign met our gaze, '*Hot Coffee Free to Volunteers!*'"

At eleven A. M., the regiment started for Baltimore, where it arrived at seven P. M. On the way twenty rounds of ammunition were distributed, for the memory of the attack on the Massachusetts Sixth was still fresh. W. J. Coulter wrote: "After we had left the cars at Baltimore and formed a line, Colonel Devens gave the order in his cool, deliberate way, 'Battalion, load at will, load.' When the order was given there was a slight commotion among the spectators as though something was going to take place. While loading, a gun was accidentally discharged, which caused a general stampede among the women and children, and was the means of collecting a large number of policemen on the spot. No one was hurt, however, and then we took up our line of march to the depot. On our way we were repeatedly cheered, and Jeff Davis was not mentioned except by a few small boys. At the depot we were supplied with fresh water by the Baltimoreans." Major John W. Kimball relates:

"The route passed over by the Fifteenth, was the same as that the Massachusetts Sixth had traversed on the memorable 19th of April when 'the blood of Massachusetts had made sacred the paving-stones of Baltimore.' Great crowds were on the streets. The Fifteenth halted on the very spot where the Sixth had been attacked. Colonel Devens was well known in the city from his previous record at Fort McHenry, and there was no open demonstration of hostility. As the chaplain and I were riding in the rear of the line a venerable old man stepped out from the crowd, and asked me: "What regiment is this?" I replied, 'The Fifteenth Massachusetts.' The man standing reverently, with uncovered head, solemnly said in tones that could be heard far through the hostile crowd: 'God bless the grand old State of Massachusetts!'"

At Baltimore the destination was changed from Harper's Ferry to Washington. The Fifteenth was ordered to report temporarily to General Rufus King at Camp Kalorama, three miles from the capital. The men waited in the station at Baltimore until after midnight. Here they had supper, and sang "John Brown's Body" and other patriotic songs. They rode to Washington in freight cars and had a rough time of it. The 9th and 10th had been very hot and sultry days, and the men had suffered extremely. At last, at six A. M. on Sunday, the 11th, they reached Washington. Lieutenant-Colonel Ward says: "We formed in line, wheeled into column and marched to Pennsylvania Avenue. The regiment looked finely upon its arrival and was highly complimented."

A letter written by Lieutenant Richard Derby of Company H, tells the story of the next two days: "We were to have marched from Washington City Sunday evening, but it rained in torrents for several hours, and we thought it best to remain in the halls and sleep on the bare floor, as we had sent our overcoats out to camp by the wagons. I had a good night's sleep, and I guess most of the men had the same, they were so very tired. We marched

at six o'clock Monday morning, about two miles, out to Columbia College grounds, and encamped on high land with the Fourteenth Massachusetts, two regiments from Wisconsin (the Fifth and Sixth), and one from Indiana (the Nineteenth). We were attached to General King's brigade. We have made ourselves quite comfortable in spite of the rain. Our tent has a good board floor, and we have secured the services of a nice colored boy. He understands his business 'to the letter.' Fruit is cheap and abundant. Melons, tomatoes, peaches, and all kinds of berries are brought fresh to camp every morning." One of the officers adds, that as the regiment passed by the White House, President Lincoln was seen looking out upon the moving column, "clad in robes to correspond to the complexion of the house."

In Chaplain Scandlin's diary, August 14, we find this entry: "In the afternoon we had an illustration of Colonel Devens' determination. He found some men with a wagon close up to the line and requested the men to move it further off. But they insisted upon it that they only had pickles for sale. The order was repeated a third time without seeming to move them much, when the Colonel called out a dozen of the boys, lifted the boxes from the wagon, smashed some ten of the boxes of liquor, replaced the two of pickles, gave his name to the parties, pointed out the brigadier-general's headquarters, and left." Chaplain Scandlin held his first services with the regiment Sunday, August 18.

Assistant Surgeon Haven says: "Camp Kalorama, August 18. Properly speaking, we are at Meridian Hill, the residence of Commodore Porter, who died in the Mediterranean. From his house just outside our lines, there is a magnificent view of Washington, Alexandria, Fairfax College and Arlington Heights.....More fickle, disagreeable and trying weather I have rarely experienced. One day so cold that we wore our overcoats, and the next so hot that we are nearly melted. It is wonderful that we have not much sickness. A large number are more or less affected with diar-

rhœa. One man shot a pistol ball through his own hand into his thigh." In a later letter, Surgeon Haven said: "The first week or ten days of our stay at Kalorama was nothing but rain, rain, rain, and we were just beginning to enjoy pleasant weather and getting accustomed to the water." The visits to and from old acquaintances in other regiments was one of the pleasing features in the life of the officers during their first months on the banks of the Potomac.

At this time there were eighteen men to be discharged from the regiment on account of unfitness for service. Surgeon Haven was sent with them to Washington to secure the necessary papers. By reason of some trouble in military technicalities the discharge of these men was delayed, although they were left in Washington. The staff horse-trappings of the Fifteenth Regiment were so much finer than those of the regular army or of the regiments of other states, that on this expedition Surgeon Haven was often mistaken for a general officer, and in one instance the whole guard was turned out, drawn up in line, and made to present arms.

Here at Camp Kalorama, the regiment spent about two weeks in a fair degree of comfort in spite of the rainy weather. August 12, the soldiers received pay from the state for services from June 28 to July 12. There was much conjecture in regard to future movements. One writes: "It doesn't seem at all as though we were so near an enemy; so many of us together produces a sense of security; but it is reported that the rebels are encamped within eight miles of us." The monotonous drill was continued at Camp Kalorama as at Camp Scott, and such was the proficiency of the regiment that it was among the first to be sent to the outposts, since it was "best prepared." When General King reviewed the regiment August 24, he was highly pleased, and said the men "moved like regulars."

At half-past four o'clock in the afternoon of August 25, the Fifteenth Regiment broke camp, in accordance with orders issued by General George B. McClellan, and set out

on a march of about thirty-five miles to join General Charles P. Stone's "Corps of Observation," which guarded the Potomac opposite Leesburg, Virginia. In addition to the regular baggage, the fifty-four large army wagons carried the knapsacks of the men. Passing through Georgetown, the regiment marched seven miles and then encamped for the night "in a beautiful wood near a stream of water." Major Kimball wrote: "Here was the first experience of the bivouac. Under a cloudless sky, bright with its ten thousand lights, the men, wearied by the unusual toil, threw themselves upon the grass-grown earth, to forget in sleep the then-called hardships of a soldier's life."

Monday, which was intensely hot, was spent on the march. E. J. Russell wrote: "Monday morning we received a short allowance of hard bread and coffee and started. We reached Rockville, the county seat of Montgomery County, Maryland, about twelve, where we halted in a beautiful grove and stopped fifteen minutes, filled our canteens and started again. We marched two miles further, then stopped and cooked dinner, weak coffee and hard bread and fat bacon, if we could find a place at the fire to broil it on a stick. We were there two hours and most of the men went to sleep, they were so tired. We left our bivouac at three P. M. We marched five or six miles, where we encamped for the night and slept in the open air again." The next morning they set out once more. Some of the men became footsore and tired out. One of them wrote: "Many were compelled to drop by the wayside; but this caused no delay of the regiment, for the column moved steadily on, and they were left to be picked up by the baggage wagons which were in the rear." It is said that Chaplain Scandlin, with his usual self-sacrifice, sometimes carried three guns while a tired soldier rode his horse. The regiment did not reach Poolesville until nearly noon Tuesday.

Melvin Howland, orderly-sergeant of Company K, died of congestion of the lungs at Poolesville about five hours

after the arrival of the regiment. He was an educated man, and had formerly been a school-teacher. This was the first death in the regiment. The notes of Assistant-Surgeon Haven in this case will give us a glimpse of one side of regimental history:

"August 24, Camp Kalorama.

"Orderly-Sergeant Melvin Howland, Company K, age twenty-three. Complains of lassitude—dispirited—some headache—pains in lungs—has taken some remedies of his own.

"August 25. Feels relieved—rested well. Was placed in an ambulance for march to Poolesville—complains of fatigue of ride—comfortable. Diet of tea and soft bread.

"August 26. Endured the march quite well. At night was removed without knowledge of surgeon to quarters, company bivouac. Was called to visit him at eleven o'clock. Found him cold and uncomfortably situated. Complained of chills and fever. Administered stimulant of brandy.

"August 27. Slept well during the night and expresses himself as feeling better. Complained last evening of inability to use lower extremities. Thinks he was numb, but not paralyzed. Twelve o'clock—appears quite elated at our arrival in camp—remains in ambulance hospital erected, at half-past two o'clock. Half-past three o'clock found patient out of ambulance—cold and suffering from severe chill. Removed directly to hospital tent. Stimulants administered—congestion of spinal column and general congestion. Died at six o'clock, conscious to ten minutes before death."

The diary of E. J. Russell contains the following entry: "I have just been to the funeral of the sergeant, and it was the most impressive service I ever witnessed. The whole regiment was in attendance, and the chaplain made very appropriate remarks. The band played 'Peace, Troubled Soul.' All the first-sergeants of the regiment were bearers,

and the company of which he was a member went in the procession with all of the officers of the regiment, the band playing 'The Dead March in Saul,' the drum beating a low ruffle. As I write now, I hear the salute over the grave of our comrade. Peace to his ashes."

The seventy-five thousand three months' troops had protected the capital of the nation, had kept several doubtful states from secession, and had checked the aggressions of the rebels, but the only attempts which they had made to conquer the enemy in battle in Eastern Virginia had resulted in failure. The miserable affair at Big Bethel had been a mass of blunders. When General Irvin McDowell was forced against his judgment by the popular clamor to fight at Manassas Junction, the military skill with which his plan was laid was brought to naught by General Patterson's failure in co-operation and the advantage possessed by the rebels in their inside line of defense. General George B. McClellan's brilliant success in West Virginia, in contrast with the defeat which elsewhere attended the Union armies, had made him the hope of the country and given him the command of the Army of the Potomac. He realized the magnitude of the war, and began to prepare for it on a much broader basis than had before been thought of.

The new levies of troops arriving in Washington were assigned according to need or advantage of location or for discipline, to the various detachments posted at different points along the river from the lower Potomac up as far as Williamsport. General George A. McCall was at Langley, a few miles from Washington, but west of the river. General N. P. Banks had his headquarters at Darnestown, eight miles to the southeast of Poolesville, but he had detachments above Poolesville at Point of Rocks, opposite Harper's Ferry, and other places. He was thus above and below General Stone. General Stone's command was, however, independent of his. General Stone was at this time in the prime of life. He was a graduate of West Point and had

served in the Mexican War with marked ability. At the beginning of the Civil War, the safety of Washington was largely due to his wisdom and energy.

According to McClellan's general report, October 15, when all the levies had arrived, this division contained: Cavalry—Six companies of the Third New York Cavalry (Van Alen); Artillery—Kirby's First United States Artillery, Vaughn's Battery (B) First Rhode Island Artillery, and Bunting's Sixth New York Independent Battery; Infantry—Gorman's Brigade, Second New York State Militia (Eighty-second Volunteers), First Minnesota, Fifteenth Massachusetts and Thirty-fourth New York Volunteers, and the Tammany (Forty-second) New York Volunteers; Lander's Brigade, Nineteenth and Twentieth Massachusetts and Seventh Michigan Volunteers, and First Company of Massachusetts Sharpshooters; Baker's Brigade, Pennsylvania Volunteers, then known as the First, Second and Third California. No other authority is found for the connection of the Fifteenth with Gorman's Brigade at so early a date. Colonel Devens apparently took his orders directly from General Stone as long as he remained in command of the Corps of Observation. In early September there were in this corps only five infantry regiments, (the Second, Thirty-fourth and Forty-second New York, First Minnesota and Fifteenth Massachusetts), First United States and Sixth New York Batteries and Chambliss' Troop Second Cavalry.

It was the duty of this division, while acquiring military discipline, to keep watch of the rebels at Leesburg and to guard the river along the arc which it made here, with Poolesville as the center of the chord. Leesburg was some over eight miles to the west of Poolesville and was about three miles from the river. On the line connecting these two places was Harrison's Island, about one hundred and fifty yards wide, and containing four hundred acres. It was used for farming purposes. A little above the northern end of this island was Conrad's Ferry. Below the island was

Edward's Ferry, at the mouth of Goose Creek. Each of these ferries was approached by roads on both sides. The distance between them was about four miles. On the eastern side of the river the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal ran parallel to it, and somewhat higher, at a distance from the river of from three to six rods. On the slope between the canal and the river were the picket stations.

Poolesville, Maryland, had about two hundred inhabitants. Camp Foster, so named in honor of Dwight Foster who was then attorney-general of Massachusetts, was near the village, on the Common. The elevation was such that it gave an outlook in some directions of thirty miles. The parade ground was large and level. The camp was kept very clean, as the surgeon had a squad of fifty men clean it up every morning. The situation and neatness aided much in maintaining the health of the men. One of them writes: "The first essential for pleasant camp-life is an agreeable location; and ours is eminently so, being on a high and nearly level plain, where fresh air, sunlight and beautiful views are unlimited." The regiment had here one hundred and twenty-seven tents of the various kinds.

By order of General Stone, August 29, 1861, "The piquet duty along the line of the Potomac between the outposts at Conrad's Ferry and the piquets of the First Minnesota Regiment thrown out from Edward's Ferry, is entrusted to the Massachusetts Fifteenth Regiment." On the same day, Companies A and C were ordered upon this duty until relieved. A member of Company C writes: "No time has passed off so pleasantly to us since our arrival at the South as did the ten days we were on the bank of the Potomac. While we were on duty there was a continual firing across the river, between the pickets, but nothing serious occurred from it on our side." September 2, another order was received to send an additional company to strengthen the line of pickets and a company to remain with Bunting's Battery near Conrad's Ferry. Company B was assigned to

the former duty ; Company E to the latter. The other companies of the regiment served on this picket duty at various times. The first relief was sent September 9, Companies H, K and G on picket duty, Company I with the battery. September 20, Companies E, F and D were assigned to picket duty and B in support of the battery. October 8 and 9, A, G and I were assigned to picket duty and C with the battery. After a little the men of the two armies ceased by mutual consent to fire at each other while on picket, and they talked with each other across the river, often guying one another, though sometimes the talk was of a most friendly nature. In a letter to the Fitchburg Sentinel one of the soldiers says: "We have agreed with the pickets on the opposite shore, who are Mississippians, not to fire at each other, but be on friendly terms as long as they are posted as pickets.....Yesterday, one of our boys agreed to meet one of the Mississippians half-way across the river and exchange newspapers.....They met in the middle of the stream where the water is but waist deep, and after shaking hands and exchanging the "Boston Herald" for the "Mobile Tribune," they held a social chat. They are of the opinion that the shooting of pickets is all foolishness.....I have just learned that one of the Mississippians is coming over in a boat to take dinner with the Leominster boys today."

Occasionally pickets were found asleep on their posts; three cases are recorded as brought up for discipline during September. It is stated that one man who had thus been found sleeping a second time, deserted because he "preferred to risk his chances with the enemy rather than risk the chance of being shot." The men on picket were distributed "in squads of thirty or forty" over the three miles. They had no tents since these could be seen too easily by the rebels, but they made huts with poles and brush and attempted to thatch them with weeds. In cases of rain, these huts afforded no protection. No lights or fires were allowed

after dark for fear of disclosing the position. As there was little drilling to do, the men lounged about the huts "like Indians." The worst annoyance was the great number of insects that swarmed over the food and clothing. Another duty assigned to the Fifteenth was the guarding of General Stone's headquarters. It was sometimes called his "pet regiment," and we occasionally find the name "Sunday Pets" applied to the men.

The relations with the negroes formed an interesting feature of camp-life. A letter of W. J. Coulter's illustrates this:

"The Light Guard have done something in the way of 'contraband.' One day a negro came down to the water's edge and wished to know if he might cross. He was given to understand that he could, and he immediately stripped and plunged into the river. He was met by a boat and conveyed to the shore. There is a large island lying between the two shores, just opposite to where a portion of Company C was stationed, owned by a secessionist who is in the Southern army, and it was from this island that the negro came. By his story it appears that there were fourteen slaves and about twenty-five head of cattle on the island a few days before, and that a squad of secessionists came over to take them by order of his master, the negroes to be put in the army. He did not like the idea of being put into the army, so he hid in a cornfield which was on this side of the island. The rebels did not dare to come on this side of the island to hunt after him, for fear of being shot at by our pickets, and so they let him go. He remained in the cornfield one or two days, not daring to come down to the water for fear we would shoot him. At last he raised courage enough to show himself, and was permitted to cross over. He is a boy of about seventeen years of age, and is what they call out this way 'a right smart nigger.' He says that he would not go back 'for nothing in the world.'

"There are plenty of 'Uncle Toms' out this way, of course, and it is amusing to hear them talk. Some of them

have a great fear of military men, and will make a very low bow when they meet a soldier, especially if he carries a gun. One morning, a few days ago, an old negro with a bundle under his arm, was strolling along the lines of the New York Second Regiment, and when he got opposite the guard-tents one of the sentinels commenced questioning him, and asked him what was in his bundle. Just then the officer of the day came in sight, and the order was given to turn out the guard for the purpose of saluting him. The old negro, noticing the unusual bustle, came to the conclusion that they were preparing to arrest him, and dropping his bundle, took to his heels, crying, 'Me good nigga!' 'Me good nigga!' and kept it up till he was far out of sight. Such amusing incidents as this are occurring every day, which help to remove the monotony clinging to camp life."

September 23, General Stone ordered soldiers in his command not "to incite and encourage insubordination among the colored servants in the neighborhood of the camps," as had previously been done. He supported his course by strong reasons therefor, but was bitterly attacked by some ardent antislavery men on account of it.

Letters to newspapers and to friends at home were written more guardedly on account of the following order:

"Sept. 10, 1861. The General commanding, desires to caution all under his command against the unmilitary and treasonable practice, too much followed in some corps of the army, of writing private reports of military movements and operations which may find their way into the newspapers and thence to the enemies of the country."

September 5, the Thirteenth Massachusetts Regiment arrived at Poolesville, and stopped there for a few hours and received entertainment from the Fifteenth before going on to Darnestown to join General Banks. Lieutenant-Colonel Ward writes, September 14: "The quiet of our camp was pleasantly disturbed by the arrival of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Massachusetts Regiments, also a full

battery of artillery from Rhode Island. They bivouacked near us on the same field. Colonel Lee commanded the Twentieth and Colonel Hinks the Nineteenth. P. M.—The Massachusetts regiments left for their camp-ground near Edward's Ferry."

A letter written to the Worcester Palladium from Poolesville, September 17, complains bitterly of the quality of the guns furnished the Fifteenth. "This regiment, as you well know, is armed with the old smooth-bore muskets of the pattern of 1842, altered from the flint to the percussion lock. With these miserable weapons we are expected to victoriously contend with an army that have arms of more than three times the length of range of our own." While the rebels could shoot effectively across the Potomac and three hundred yards beyond, our men could seldom send a ball across the river. Companies A and C were furnished with Harper's Ferry rifles before the Battle of Ball's Bluff, but the other companies had to wait until December, before a change was made.

The regimental band is spoken of by a visitor as being one of the best in the division. There were many good singers in the regiment, and in the evening army songs in varying degrees of melodiousness were heard about the camp. Occasionally "Charlie May and some of the other boys" would bring out their fiddles. An old barn door would serve as a floor for dancing, and a jolly evening would be spent. A good story-teller was always sure of an audience. There was little intemperance, although there were a few liquor seizures in the village at a later date. October 13, an order was issued against gambling, as it was prevailing somewhat in portions of General Stone's Division.

October 4, the regiment was ordered to take possession of Harrison's Island. This duty was assigned to Company H. The company started at five P. M. Lieutenant Richard Derby writes: "The river has been high, and has just fallen, leaving a steep clay bank, softened to the consistency of

butter and overgrown with roots, vines and weeds as thick as a hedge. We arrived after dark on the canal path, and found only one boat to cross in. It was a metallic life-boat, capable of carrying fifteen men, and was in the canal, from which we had to drag it into the river.... The captain went in the first boat-load, and landed without resistance. I went in the second, and four more loads took us all. When we reached the top of the bank a dirtier lot of ninety men you never saw.... On reconnoitering, all the human being we found was an old slave who takes care of his master's plantation. He thought his time had come and, falling on his knees, began praying fervently." The inhabitants of the island had removed all their stock and valuables to the Virginia shore, in anticipation of this movement. October 17, Lieutenant Derby writes: "We are fortifying the island and are to have reënforcements and hold it in case of attack. I was up till three o'clock this morning overseeing the throwing up of intrenchments. The ruins of the old stone barn make a good fort."

October 7, the Fifteenth was paid off. One of the boys writes: "For the last four weeks there has been no question asked so often as, 'When are we going to be paid off?' If a stranger should happen to cross the line of sentinels for the purpose of visiting camp, he was surely the paymaster. If the boys had been paid off as often as they have had the paymaster here, they would be rich enough to buy Jeff Davis out." The men were paid up to September 1, and each private received about twenty dollars. A large portion of this was sent home. Colonel Devens did what he could to encourage and facilitate such a disposition of the money. George W. Mirick, his orderly, received such sums as the men could spare and gave in return checks drawn on the Worcester County Institution for Savings signed by the Colonel. These checks were mailed to their families.

The editor of the Worcester Spy, who visited the camp at Poolesville in October, reported: "The store-keeper at

Poolesville is a shrewd, calculating fellow, who is making a great deal of money out of his trade with the soldiers. There are enough here who would sell whiskey to the soldiers if they dared, but Colonel Devens is a mortal terror to all such fellows."

The religious meetings held by the regiment are thus dwelt upon in a letter by W. J. Coulter, September 24, 1861: "Sunday is kept by the soldiers of the Fifteenth almost as strictly as it would be if they were at home. On the Sabbath all drills are suspended. An inspection takes place every Sunday morning at nine o'clock, and after that the articles of war are read. At four in the afternoon divine services are held, which are very impressive. The platform is constructed of a flat box placed on the ground, with a red blanket thrown over it; this answers for the chaplain to stand on. A little to the left of the box is a stand of arms, on which is hung a drum, taking the place of a desk. On the right is stationed the national colors, presented to the regiment by the ladies of Worcester, and on the left is the state flag. The whole regiment is drawn up in line, and then marched to the front of the pulpit, which is erected in front of the Colonel's quarters. The officers all go forward, and are seated in a half-circle in the rear of the chaplain. The choir, which is selected from the regiment and the band, is stationed on the right. A prayer-meeting is held every Sunday evening at half-past seven, and also every Wednesday evening at the same time. You would hardly think, to look at the camp of the Fifteenth on Sunday evenings, that it was the encampment of a body of men whose purpose is what it is. Everything is tranquil, and from many of the quarters songs of praise to God float out upon the air. It puts one in mind of a camp-meeting more than it does of a military encampment, which is thought to be, by a large number, the abode of all that is contaminating and impure. In some of the tents the boys make a practice of reading a chapter every night from the Testaments presented to them."

On Sunday morning there were religious meetings held with the companies near the river. Many citizens were present at the afternoon service. There was usually an attendance of seventy-five or a hundred at the evening meetings. Chaplain Scandlin thus speaks of one: "The group clustered around my tent in all conceivable positions; the star-lit dome of the heavens, resplendent with the moon's soft silvery rays; the word of exhortation, blended with the prayer of faith and the hymns of praise; the petitions in behalf of the dear ones left behind in homes of our affection,—all these seemed to fuse in one yearning, trusting prayer."

Chaplain Scandlin, in addition to the duties directly connected with his office, served the soldiers in many other ways. The mail came three times each week. Chaplain Scandlin acted as postmaster for the regiment. This was no easy task, as there was an average of six hundred letters or papers at each arrival and departure. There was a great difference among the men in the number of letters written; some wrote every mail, one is mentioned who served three years and never wrote a line. The coming of the mail was looked upon as a most important event, and it always found a crowd eagerly waiting for its delivery. Home letters were the only relief for the homesickness by which some of the men were still bitterly afflicted. The chaplain collected a library for the regiment, and looked after its circulation. In February, 1862, he recorded four hundred volumes as the number in this library.

During September fresh bread was served out three times a week with "salt junk," bacon and ham. At other times there was no fresh bread, but plenty of pilot bread which the boys called "government pies." This bread was satisfactory to those who had good teeth, but those who did not were unable to eat it easily. There were also rations of coffee, sugar, molasses, rice, hominy, beans, pickles, potatoes and salt. The food, the weather, the wise care of the officers

and the prudence of the men were such that the surgeon had little to do. September 24 there were only sixteen cases in the regimental hospital.

In the early part of October, an order was sent out by General McClellan for "the regimental surgeon to drill the band and ten hospital attendants one hour daily in setting up and dismantling the hand-stretchers, litters and ambulance beds, putting them into the ambulance, taking them out, etc., carrying men upon the hand-stretchers (observing that the leading bearer steps off with the left foot and the rear bearer with the right), in short, in everything that can render this service effective and the most comfortable for the wounded who are to be transported." The band was not pleased with this order. One of the boys wrote, October 12: "Yesterday the band was ordered to drill an hour a day with the ambulances in carrying off the dead, and they would not do it, and the general ordered them under arrest, and told the colonel not to allow them anything to eat or drink until they came to terms. They were all spunky, and would die first, but before twenty-four hours were over they came to terms." A brigade hospital was finished about October 19.

Very few furloughs were granted before Ball's Bluff, but several men were allowed to go home for a short time on account of health. October 7, Lieutenant Andrew L. Fuller of Company C was obliged to resign his commission as he could not endure the exposure. Before entering the army he had been a manufacturer, a man of large business interests. Such capitalists were rare in the regiment, which was for the most part made up of those who neither suffered from poverty nor had any considerable share of this world's goods. Lieutenant Fuller's genial and generous nature, together with his high devotion to principle, made him greatly beloved and looked up to by the men of his company, and his resignation was deeply regretted.

Lieutenant Nelson Bartholomew of Company E was

taken sick August 26, with malarial fever, and was never on active duty after that date, although he remained a member of the regiment until his death. Early in November he started for home in charge of his brother, but was unable to go further than Philadelphia, where he died November 21. He was born in Hardwick, December 29, 1835. He was graduated from Yale College in 1856. He then entered the Harvard Law School. He was admitted to the bar in 1858, and opened an office in Oxford. When the war broke out he determined to enlist, and his patriotism was so great that he persisted, although he was warned that he would be likely to break down under the strain. A local paper says: "Lieutenant Bartholomew was the life and soul of the company E in its formation.... He was the true type of the New England soldier." September 23, Edward F. Ware of Company F died of bilious fever. October 4, Corporal Frank A. Hildreth of Company B died after a brief illness of liver trouble. October 15, Patrick Kelley 1st, died of heart disease. This was the fourth death in the regiment. The burial service of Patrick Kelley 1st, was conducted by Father Gillan from the Tammany Regiment. The graves of these men were pleasantly placed in the cemetery of the village, and the grave-stones, arbor vitæ and rose bushes showed how affectionately they were remembered by their comrades of the regiment.

In addition to those who had died, the regiment had lost before October 21 twenty-five men, who had been discharged for disability. In all probability most of these men had been physically unfit for service when they had been mustered in. At least, their constitutions had not been such as to enable them to endure the comparatively slight exposure to which the regiment had been thus far subjected. We must not, however, withhold from these men the meed of the highest patriotism. Indeed, it showed higher self-sacrifice for a man to enlist who knew that his physical constitution was such that he would be exposed to more peril

than his fellows. One was transferred to the Nineteenth Regiment, one resigned his commission, three were discharged on account of minority, three were recorded as deserting. Besides these thirty-seven there are others of doubtful record, who "never left the state," or "never joined company." Thus some fifty or more names were dropped from the rolls of the regiment between July 12 and October 21. Twenty-one of these, four from death, fourteen from disability, one from transfer, one from resignation and one from desertion had been lost after reaching Washington.

Although the Fifteenth had done some valuable service on picket duty, yet as a whole the period between June 28 and October 20 may be looked upon as one of preparation and drill. The result reached during the time is well told in a letter written by Nathaniel Paine of Worcester, who visited the camp at Poolesville. "The improvement in the drill and discipline of the regiment is very marked and decided, particularly to one who saw them while in camp at Worcester. The battalion drill, conducted by Colonel Devens, shows great proficiency, as does also the exercise in the manual of arms at dress parade, and the high encomiums bestowed on the colonel and his regiment by officers of experience, are well deserved. Worcester County and Massachusetts have reason to be proud of this regiment, and when they shall be called upon for more active service in the field they will not be found wanting."

CHAPTER III.

THE BATTLE OF BALL'S BLUFF.

OCTOBER 20-21, 1861.

ON Monday, October 21, the Fifteenth Regiment was called upon to make its first great sacrifice. The battle of Ball's Bluff has been called one of the last of the amateur battles of the Civil War. Plans formed on the basis of insufficient or inaccurate knowledge and modified in accordance with particular circumstances, without taking the general condition of affairs into account; orders indefinitely given, carelessly transmitted, imperfectly understood or poorly carried out; too great authority delegated to subordinate officers or assumed by them; changes in command made either by order or the hand of death in the midst of battle; all these things acting together and tending to produce confusion and lack of co-operation, brought disaster upon the Union arms and swept from the ranks of the Fifteenth Regiment nearly one-half the members who were at that time on regular duty.

October 19, under the order of General McClellan, General McCall, who had his headquarters at Langley, near Washington, marched to Dranesville, Virginia, which is about fifteen miles from Leesburg and on the same side of the river. This was done to cover a general reconnaissance which was made to learn the position of the enemy and prepare maps of the region.

On the morning of the 20th, a telegram came to General McClellan from General Banks' headquarters at Darnestown,

that the enemy had moved away from Leesburg. In continuance of the general reconnaissance, as modified by this telegram, the following order was sent :

"CAMP GRIFFIN, Oct. 20, 1861.

"General McClellan desires me to inform you that General McCall occupied Dranesville yesterday and is still there. Will send out heavy reconnaissances today in all directions from that point. The general desires that you will keep a good lookout upon Leesburg to see if this movement has the effect to drive them away. Perhaps a slight demonstration on your part would have the effect to move them.

A. V. COLBURN,

Assistant Adjutant-General.

Brig.-General C. P. STONE, Poolesville."

General Stone had learned from a contraband mulatto teamster that N. G. Evans, the Confederate General who commanded the Seventh Brigade of the First Corps, C. S. A., located at this point, already alarmed, was planning to fight near Leesburg if attacked there, but that the rebels had moved their baggage to Goose Creek, which entered the Potomac near Edward's Ferry. His belief that the enemy was about to withdraw, and that McCall was at Dranesville ready to coöperate with him, made General Stone more ready for an aggressive movement and less prudent in its execution. He at once obeyed the order he had received from General McClellan by directing General Gorman at Edward's Ferry to display his forces in view of the enemy, by commanding the movement of flat-boats from the canal into the river, and by an artillery fire upon the points where the enemy were supposed to be concealed, as if to cover the crossing of the boats. Moved by these demonstrations, the enemy retired from their "picket position near Edward's Ferry to their intrenchments."

In connection with this reconnaissance, orders had already been sent to Colonel Devens "to reënforce the island

(Harrison's) by all of his regiment that was at the canal, to detach Captain Philbrick with twenty men to cross from the island and explore by a path through the woods, little used, in the direction of Leesburg, to see if he could find anything concerning the enemy's position in that direction, but to return and report on discovering any of the enemy." As it became dark, General Stone withdrew the forces at Edward's Ferry to their original position and reported to General McClellan: "Made a feint of crossing at this place this afternoon, and at the same time started a reconnoitering party towards Leesburg, from Harrison's Island. The enemy's pickets retired to intrenchments. Report of reconnoitering party not yet received. I have the means of crossing one hundred and twenty-five men once in ten minutes at each of two points. River falling slowly."

Thus far McClellan's orders had been implicitly obeyed by General Stone, but from this point on, according to his own statement as made before the Committee on the Conduct of the War, he acted in a considerable measure on his own responsibility, without orders, neither did he keep General McClellan sufficiently informed of his movements.

Through Lieutenant Church Howe, General Stone received a report from Colonel Devens, "that Captain Philbrick had returned to the island after proceeding unmolested to within about a mile from Leesburg, and that he had there discovered, in the edge of a wood, an encampment of about thirty tents, which he had approached to within twenty five yards without being challenged." On account of this report, Colonel Devens was ordered by General Stone to cross with a portion of his regiment "to the Virginia shore, march silently under cover of the night to the position of the camp referred to, to attack and destroy it at daybreak, pursue the enemy lodged there as far as would be prudent with his small force, and return rapidly to the island, his return being covered by [two companies, I and D,] of the Massachusetts Twentieth, which were directed to be posted on the

bluff directly over the landing place." The capture of the little supposed encampment was the chief object of this expedition, a more complete reconnaissance, a secondary one.

Company C, called from its position in support of the battery at Conrad's Ferry, and Companies A, G and I called from picket duty below Conrad's Ferry, had passed over to Harrison's Island Sunday afternoon, in accordance with orders from General Stone to General Devens. About midnight, they, with Company H, which had been posted on the island, began crossing from the island to the Virginia bank, under the lead of Colonel Devens. So poor were the means of transportation that it was four o'clock before the last company had crossed over. The passage, though hurried, took six times as long as General Stone had estimated. There were in all three boats, which together conveyed about thirty men. Colonel Devens had previously received and obeyed orders to have two flat-boats transferred from the canal to the river, but these were on the Maryland side of the island. Colonel Lee of the Twentieth, who was ordered to cross to Harrison's Island with five companies of his regiment, was directed to "cause the four-oared boat to be taken across the island to the point of departure of Colonel Devens." This was done later by men under charge of Major Revere.

Colonel Devens with his five companies of the Fifteenth passed down the river about sixty rods by a path discovered by the scouts under Captain Philbrick, and then up the bluff known as Ball's Bluff. The length of the incline has been estimated at from one hundred and fifty yards to four hundred; its perpendicular height, from fifty feet to one hundred and fifty. Each of these dimensions was variable, yet the lower estimates are probably nearer the average. At the top of the bluff the men, after passing through a scrubby growth, came upon an open field surrounded by woods. This field contained about eight acres. It was oblong and somewhat irregular in shape. The path from the river con-

tinued along the southern side of this field and led from the southwestern corner through the woods to another open field. It was at "a row of trees" on the opposite side of the second field that Captain Philbrick, deceived by the effect of the moonlight, had seen, as he thought, the thirty tents. There was a house, known as the Jackson House, near this row of trees. The hundred and two men of the Twentieth, under Colonel Lee, who were to protect the return of the companies of the Fifteenth, had taken their position at the edge of the field near the bluff. One of the pickets of this supporting force was wounded during the early morning.

Colonel Devens thus tells the story of his advance:

"At daybreak we pushed forward our reconnaissance towards Leesburg to the distance of about a mile from the river to a spot supposed to be the site of the rebel encampment, but found on passing through the woods that the scouts had been deceived by a line of trees on the brow of the slope, the opening through which presented, in an uncertain light, somewhat the appearance of a line of tents. Leaving the detachment in the woods, I proceeded with Captain Philbrick and two or three scouts across the slope and along the other line of it, observing Leesburg, which was in full view, and the country about it as carefully as possible, and seeing but four tents of the enemy. My force being well concealed by the woods, and having no reason to believe my presence was discovered, and no large number of the enemy's tents being in sight, I determined not to return at once, but to report to yourself, which I did, by directing Quartermaster Howe to repair at once to Edward's Ferry to state these facts, and to say that in my opinion I could remain until I was reënforced.

"The means of transportation between the island and the Virginia shore had been strengthened, I knew, by a large boat, which would convey sixty or seventy men at once, and as the boat could cross and recross every ten minutes, I had no reason to suppose there would be any difficulty in send-

ing over five hundred men in an hour, as it was known there were two large boats between the island and the Maryland shore, which would convey to the island all the troops that could be conveyed from it to the Virginia shore. [The means of transportation, as managed, proved very much under this estimate.]

"Mr. Howe left me with his instructions at about six-thirty A. M., and during his absence, at about seven o'clock, a company of riflemen, who had probably discovered us, were reported on our right upon the road from Conrad's Ferry. I directed Captain Philbrick, Company H, to pass up over the slope and attack them, while Captain Rockwood, Company A, was ordered to proceed to the right and cut off their retreat in the direction of Conrad's Ferry, and accompany Captain Philbrick as he proceeded to execute the order. Captain Philbrick's command proceeded over the slope of the hill, and the enemy retreated down on the other side, taking the direction of a cornfield in which the corn had lately been cut and stood in the shocks. [The cornfield was, of course, on the west of the road.] The first volley was fired by them from a ditch or trench, into which they retreated. It was immediately returned by our men, and the skirmish continued hotly for some minutes. I had ordered Captain Forehand, Company G, to reënforce Captain Philbrick, but a body of rebel cavalry being reported on our left, I directed Captain Philbrick to return to the wood, lest he might be cut off from the main body of the detachment. This he did in good order.

"In the skirmish nine men of Company H were wounded, one killed, and two were missing at its close, although the field was carefully examined by Captain Philbrick and myself before we left it. They probably were wounded and crawled into the bush, which was growing in portions of it.

"On returning to the wood I remained waiting for an attack for perhaps half an hour. At the end of this time, as my messenger did not return, I deemed it prudent to join

Colonel Lee, which I did ; but after remaining with him upon the bluff a short time, and having thoroughly scouted the woods, I returned to my first position."

A pair of stockings were sent to "the bravest man in the battle of Ball's Bluff." Colonel Devens wrote in acknowledgment: "I received the pair of stockings sent by a Massachusetts lady. I can hardly decide who was the bravest man at the battle of Ball's Bluff, but I bestowed them upon Captain Philbrick, Company H, who commanded the advance guard of the Fifteenth Regiment, and told him to wear them until I found a braver man in the fight. I think they will be worn out before I do."

The rebels who were engaged belonged to a company of the Seventeenth Mississippi, and were under the command of Captain W. L. Duff. He was joined between eight and nine o'clock A. M., after the first skirmish was over, by two companies of the Eighteenth Mississippi, one of the Thirteenth, and three companies of cavalry, all under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel W. H. Jennifer, who from this point on commanded this skirmishing force as a whole. There seems to have been more or less firing between the two skirmish lines between the more serious encounters.

Meanwhile, to take the attention of the rebels from Colonel Devens's movement, at about seven A. M. General Gorman, under direction of General Stone, sent across two companies of the First Minnesota Regiment and thirty-one Van Alen Cavalry at Edward's Ferry, under cover of a fire from Rickett's Battery. This detachment advanced some distance from the ferry and met the Thirteenth Mississippi Regiment, received its fire, and returned it with pistols at a distance of thirty-five yards. No Union men were hurt. One rebel was captured.

Later General Gorman's brigade began to cross as a whole. His report says that he had one regiment over before the fight of the afternoon began, and then other troops followed. General Stone was kept from ordering an

advance from Edward's Ferry to Ball's Bluff by his belief that there was a rebel battery or intrenchment in the way, which would be able to check such a movement. Later evidence shows that such a force as he might have easily dispatched by this route—for he had four thousand men not engaged, to say nothing of troops he might have drawn from General Banks—would have met with no insurmountable obstacles, and would doubtless have turned defeat into victory. At the critical moment of the battle, Gorman's whole force of over two thousand men was neutralized by a single company of the Thirteenth Mississippi.

When General Stone received from Colonel Devens the report brought by Lieutenant Howe, that the encampment of the enemy had not been found as expected, he ordered ten cavalry under an officer to join Colonel Devens for the purpose of scouring the country, and warning him of the approach of the enemy. Captain Candy, assistant adjutant-general on General Lander's staff, accompanied this body. These cavalry crossed the river and reported to Colonel Lee, but, having inquired of him the condition of affairs, returned and never reported to Colonel Devens, and thus he was deprived of their much-needed service.

Lieutenant-Colonel Ward, who, lest he might be away from his men in time of action, had cut short his furlough at Washington, whither he had been to consult Governor Andrew about rifles, has the following entry in his diary for October 20: "Colonel Devens had gone to the river to visit our pickets. He did not return at dark, and we began to feel a little curious and perhaps somewhat anxious about him. We turned in about eleven o'clock, the colonel not returning. I had just gone to sleep when a messenger was announced from General Stone, by Lieutenant Ellingwood of Company F (who was lieutenant of the guard). It was about ten minutes before twelve. Upon examining the message it proved to be an order from General Stone order-

ing myself with the five companies then in camp to proceed directly to the crossing at Harrison's Island. We started from Camp about quarter past one and arrived about a quarter of four A. M." The order read as follows:

"HEADQUARTERS CORPS OF OBSERVATION,
October 20, 1861.

"Lieut.-Col. Ward, 15th Mass. Vols.

"COLONEL: You will march with the remainder of your regiment in camp (leaving a camp-guard and relief), to the tow-path of the canal opposite the center of the Massachusetts piquets and there await orders. Your command will take blankets and overcoats, but not knapsacks. You will make arrangements for provisions for one day and the ambulances to follow at daybreak. You shall make such arrangements that your command will arrive at the place above designated by four o'clock A. M., tomorrow.

By order of General Stone.

C. STEWART, A. A. G."

The men took forty rounds of ammunition in their cartridge boxes.

October 21, the diary continues: "Soon after sunrise orders came from General Stone, who was then at Edward's Ferry, ordering me with my command to cross to the Virginia shore and take possession of Smart's Mill, which was about half a mile up the river. Accordingly I commenced getting my command across the river. On the Maryland side of the island the river was about two hundred and fifty yards wide, and about seventy-five yards on the Virginia side. Before we started, we heard firing on the opposite shore. I sent over two companies and went over with the third myself (Company D, Captain Studley), and left Major Kimball to bring forward the remaining two. When I arrived on the island, I learned that the firing proved to be a short skirmish between one of Colonel Deven's companies (H, Captain Philbrick, Northbridge),

and a company of rebels. . . . Just as I learned the particulars, I was met by Quartermaster Howe of our regiment on the island, who informed me that Colonel Devens was anxious that I should move forward as soon as possible to his support, as he, the Colonel, 'was in a tight place.' I told him what General Stone's orders were, but, if Colonel Devens was situated as he represented him to be, I should comply with Colonel Devens's request. At the same time I requested Quartermaster Howe to go to notify General Stone of what I had done. Mr. Howe informed me afterwards that he had complied with my request, and that General Stone said I did right in reënforcing Colonel Devens. Accordingly I moved forward to the support of Colonel Devens instead of going to Smart's Mill. As we crossed Harrison's Island I saw one or two companies of the Massachusetts Twentieth, who were on the island. Major and Surgeon Revere were there. After landing on the Virginia shore I pushed forward with all possible dispatch to the support of Colonel Devens, whom I found about a mile from the river."

As regards this movement of the five companies under Lieutenant-Colonel Ward, General Stone said in the examination before the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War: "Of that, I knew nothing until a messenger came back here after Colonel Baker had gone and assumed command and informed me that it was the desire that these troops should move forward, asking if I would permit it. I said I had given the control of that movement to Colonel Baker and whatever he deemed right about it, that he would do; that I could not interfere there." General Stone, without attaching the slightest blame to any member of the Fifteenth Regiment, afterwards assigned as one of the main reasons for the disaster which befell his troops: "*Colonel Baker* allowed these companies to be diverted to the front." He claimed that, as the position at the mill was a strong one and was amply covered by the Union artillery on the Maryland bank, the recrossing of the troops from this point could have been free from danger.

Major Kimball stayed on the Maryland bank of the river, to direct transportation, until the last load went. He had received orders from Lieutenant-Colonel Ward to report to him at Smart's Mill. When he reached the island and inquired which way Lieutenant-Colonel Ward had taken, he was told that he had gone to the bluffs. At first he refused to believe this, but he was assured of its truth by Chaplain Scandlin, and deeming from the nature of his orders he should report to Ward in person, wherever he might be, followed him to the bluffs.

The story of the crossing of this second portion of the regiment is told by George B. Simonds, who was at that time a private in Company B: "About half-past one on the morning of the 21st of October, we were all startled by that soldier's warning, the long roll. 'To the river, take your blankets, overcoats and one day's rations,' were the orders. To throw on our accoutrements, roll up our blankets and overcoats, and fill up our haversacks and canteens, were duties quickly performed; this done, we were immediately ordered to march. I think we never marched six or seven miles easier than we did that morning. We all knew and felt that 'something was up.' We all hoped that before the next morning something would be done.

"We arrived opposite Ball's Bluff about four o'clock; were here ordered to halt; found that those five companies of the regiment which had lately been stationed at the river as pickets, had already crossed under Colonel Devens. We waited until about seven or half-past before receiving any orders to cross. A short time before this we had heard irregular firing in the direction of the bluff; it lasted, however, but a few minutes, but our impatience was only equalled by our eagerness to learn its cause and effect. Harrison's Island lay between us and the opposite shore. As this island is over two miles long, we were obliged to cross it. The only means of transportation which we had on this side of the island consisted of two flat-bottomed boats not capable of

holding more than thirty-five men apiece. Arriving at the island, we found that the firing we had heard was no boys' play. Quite a number of Company H's men lay wounded in the only house there was. It was then and there that we first witnessed the horrors of war.

"Leaving our blankets and overcoats in the ruins of an old barn, we embarked, or rather my company crowded itself on to the only boat there was for conveying us to the Virginia shore. Notwithstanding the miserable and insufficient means of crossing we landed safe at the foot of Ball's Bluff. We were now fairly on the 'sacred soil,' to us it was the 'land of promise;' the great battle-field where the fate of our country was to be decided, and this decided, we should return to our never forgotten homes.

"Following a narrow and rather circuitous bridle-path, we proceeded through the woods, up the bluff, across an open space, again into some woods to within a few rods of another open space. Here we found Colonel Devens and that part of the regiment which had crossed in the night. We were about a mile from where we landed, and in the direction of Leesburg. The roll was now called and sixty-five of our company responded to their names. As this was the number that started from camp, it proved that with us all was thus far well.

"After waiting impatiently for some time, and finding that we were not likely to move soon, I came to the conclusion that it would be well to lookout for breakers ahead. Accordingly I sat down on the ground, the order being 'rest,' and thoroughly refreshed the inner man with salt beef and hard-bread, and the outer with a short nap.

"While we were here waiting, our skirmishers, or advanced guard, who were nearly one-fourth of a mile in advance, exchanged shots with those of the rebels. That those shots did not always fall short of their mark, the wounds of the injured, who passed us on their way back to the island, too plainly told. Sergeant Jorgensen of Company A passed about eleven o'clock, wounded in the arm.

"The ground in the open space in our front rose gradually for about one-fourth of a mile, to where our skirmishers were deployed. This space was bounded by woods on the left, and partly so on the right.

"Soon after twelve o'clock, my brother, Captain Clark S. Simonds, Company B, was ordered to take his company and relieve Company A's skirmishers. As we filed out of the woods I heard some one say, 'Good-bye, George,' and turning met the look, and shook the hand of my friend, Andrew Cowdrey, of Company A. It was the last time I ever saw him. That day 'he fought his last battle;' he now 'sleeps his last sleep.' He was severely wounded in the main fight, and died in the hospital a few days after.

"From our new position we could see a part of Leesburg, and what was of more importance to us, quite a large body of rebel infantry. They were however, out of reach of our guns, we being armed with that very modern invention, the smooth-bore musket."

The total number of the Fifteenth which had crossed the river at eleven o'clock was six hundred and twenty-five men and twenty-eight officers. Soon after this time began the transportation from the island of five more companies of the Twentieth.

Colonel Devens threw out Company C to the right, Company A to the left and Company B to the front. This front line of skirmishers was beyond the further side of the second field before mentioned. Major Kimball, who had been out to this advance skirmish line to see Captain Simonds and his old company, hurried back to Colonel Devens and reported to him that a movement was being made by the rebel cavalry towards the open field, which was designed to take this advance skirmish line in the rear. Colonel Devens gathered his men who were not in the advance line, behind a fence in the rear of the open space where the cavalry was expected. At about thirty minutes after twelve the rebels made the advance with the cavalry moving on the skirmish line in front

and the infantry coming upon the left of the main body. The enemy were repulsed, but the advance line suffered considerably. The rebels had four companies of infantry and three of cavalry under Colonel Jennifer, and later the Eighth Virginia joined them. As the heaviest loss of this fight fell on Company B, the account of George B. Simonds is continued:

"Perhaps I should tell you that when deployed as skirmishers each man is about five paces from the next, consequently our first platoon of only thirty-two or three men was extended over a line of as many rods. We had not been in this position long when we saw an officer ride in front of their infantry and wave his hand. Immediately the infantry advanced, and at the same time a rushing sound was heard in the woods on our left; some one said 'cavalry,' and sure enough, the next minute a large body of them dashed upon us. It was impossible for so few of us, situated as we were, to withstand such a force. We fired upon them and did our best to get back to the reserve. As I turned to retreat I saw George Taylor a few rods from me, making his way off the field, but as he did not get back to the reserve and has not since been heard from, I conclude that he was shot dead, being the only one that was killed in that skirmish, although two of our boys who were wounded and taken prisoners have since died from the effects of their wounds. I had not proceeded more than five rods on my retrograde march when I experienced a peculiar sensation in my right thigh. There was not much chance to doubt what hurt at that time; the balls were whistling on all sides, and I believed that I was carrying an ounce of lead besides the forty in my cartridge-box. Such proved to be the case, for in a minute or two my shoe was full of blood and my pants saturated with same. Although wounded I still kept on, resolved to get back to friends or die. A body of the rebel infantry had got into the woods on the left and cut off our retreat through the open space; we therefore took to the woods on the right, which we knew led round to the reserve. Before I reached

them, I saw Ai Osborn and Albert Litchfield sitting behind a corn stook, both I believe were wounded and both were soon after taken prisoners. Stopping behind a little house, which was about three rods from the edge of the woods, for a minute, I found George Daniels, wounded in the wrist and shoulder. Lowell, another of our boys, was also there. I saw him go to the corner and fire. 'There,' says he, I've fixed him; I saw him fall.' Leaving the house, I reached the woods and was now comparatively safe."

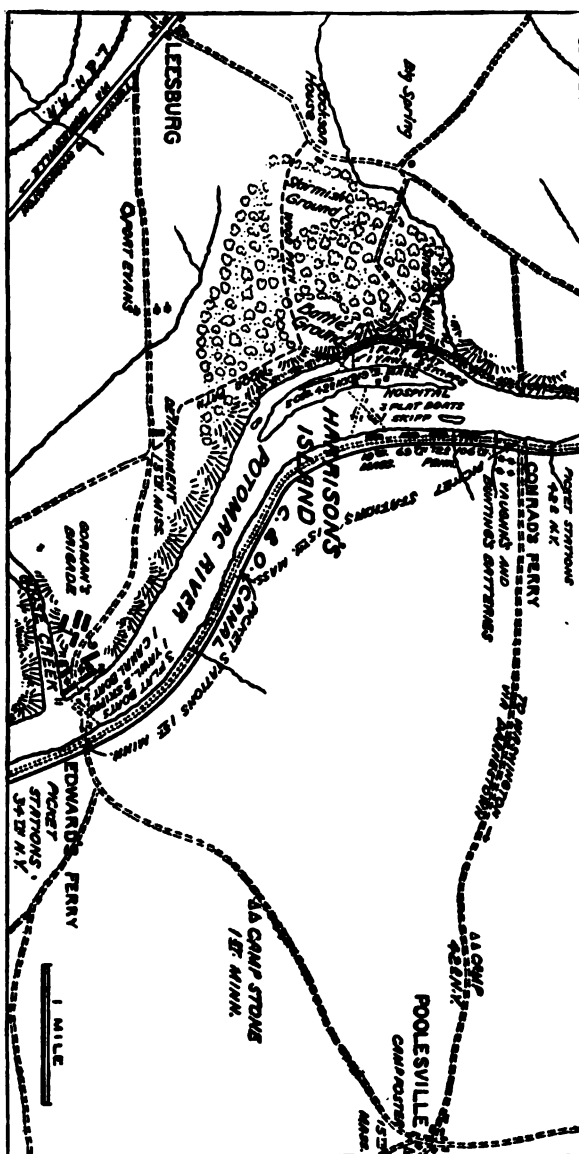
Colonel Devens stated that the losses of this encounter were inseparable from those of the later contest and therefore they were never definitely given. Captain C. S. Simonds of Company B, and several of his men, were surrounded and captured here.

At eleven P. M., October 20, an order had been sent by General Stone to Colonel E. D. Baker, who was at the mouth of the Monocacy, "to send the First California [Seventy-first Pennsylvania] Regiment to Conrad's Ferry, to arrive there at sunrise, and to have the remainder of his brigade in a state of readiness to move after an early breakfast." General Stone's report of the battle states:

"Colonel Baker, having arrived at Conrad's Ferry with the First California Regiment at an early hour in the morning, reported in person to me at Edward's Ferry, stating that the regiment was at its assigned post, the remainder of his brigade under arms ready to march, and asking for orders. I decided to send him to Harrison's Island to assume command, and in a full conversation with him explained the position of things as they then stood according to reports received; told him that General McCall had advanced his troops to Dranesville, and that I was extremely desirous of ascertaining the exact position and force of the enemy in our front, and exploring as far as it was safe on the right towards Leesburg and on the left towards the Leesburg and Gum Spring road; that I should continue to reënforce the troops under General Gorman opposite

The positions west of the canal were those held at 4-5 P. M., October 21, except at the battle-ground, for which see detail map. 7, Cavalry and sharpshooters. 8, 1st Minn. 9, 2d N. Y. 10, 34th N. Y. 11, 7th Mich. 12, Two 12-lb. Howitzers. All but one company of the 13th Mass. during the battle left the position indicated and eventually returned to Fort Evans. The early morning skirmish was some rods west of the road by the Jackson House.

The positions east of the canal are those of September. The picket stations were along the tow-path between the river and canal. The troops of Gorman and Lander's brigades, whose camps are not given, located in the vicinity of Edwards's Ferry. The position of the artillery was subject to change. The camps of the 20th Mass. and 2d N. Y. were near Camp Stone. The width of the river is exaggerated.



Edward's Ferry, and try to push them carefully forward to discover the best line from that ferry to the Leesburg and Gum Spring road already mentioned, and pointed out to him the position of the breastworks and hidden battery which barred the movement of troops directly from left to right. I detailed to him the means of transportation across the river, of the sufficiency of which he was to be the judge; authorized him to make use of the guns of a section each of Vaughn's and Bunting's batteries, together with French's mountain howitzers, besides the Nineteenth and part of the Twentieth Massachusetts Volunteers, and left it to his discretion after viewing the ground, to retire the troops from the Virginia shore under the cover of the guns and the fire of the large infantry force, or to pass over reinforcements in case he found it practicable and the position on the other side strong and favorable. This gallant and energetic officer left me about nine or nine-thirty A. M., and proceeded rapidly up the river to his charge."

The few hours that the Fifteenth served under Colonel E. D. Baker were among the most momentous in its history. How far this commander was responsible for the disaster which befell our troops has been the subject of most bitter discussion. He was a native of England, but was brought to this country by his parents when about nine years old. He passed his boyhood in Illinois, and before he became a man, was considered one of the most eloquent speakers in the denomination known as the Cambellites. He studied law, and in 1846 was sent to Congress. He raised and commanded the Fourth Illinois Regiment in the Mexican War, and won great renown at Cerro Gordo. At the close of the war he was again returned to Congress. Later he went to California, where he gained great success at the bar. In 1860, he was sent as a senator from Oregon. He sought a military appointment as soon as the war began, and was made colonel of a regiment raised in Philadelphia and known for a time as the First California. Colonel Baker

was a man of great eloquence, of magnetic presence, of unbounded courage and the most zealous patriotism. It is believed by many that if he had lived the battle would not have been lost, yet he made mistakes. Although he caused another flat-boat to be transported from the canal into the river, yet he seems to have failed to place a suitable detail to look after a regular system of crossing. This resulted in fatal delay. He also used the boats for the crossing of the artillery, when they might have been more profitably used in transporting infantry. Moreover, he spent too much time in looking after matters which might have been as well managed by subordinates. If his orders were discretionary, and he was fully informed of conditions, as General Stone asserts, then upon him must rest the responsibility for committing battle in such an unfavorable position.

At first the plan of General Stone had been to make a simple reconnaissance. Then the capture or dispersal of the outlying detachment of the rebels, supposed to have been discovered by the scouting party under Captain Philbrick, was added. Then the temporary maintenance of a position on the Virginia banks to see what would come of it, seems to have been in his mind. Now a possible advance to Leesburg, necessitating a decided engagement, or a withdrawal of the whole force, is left to the discretion of Colonel Baker. Meanwhile, no definite arrangements are made for the immediate coöperation of the troops at Edward's Ferry, or those of General Banks.

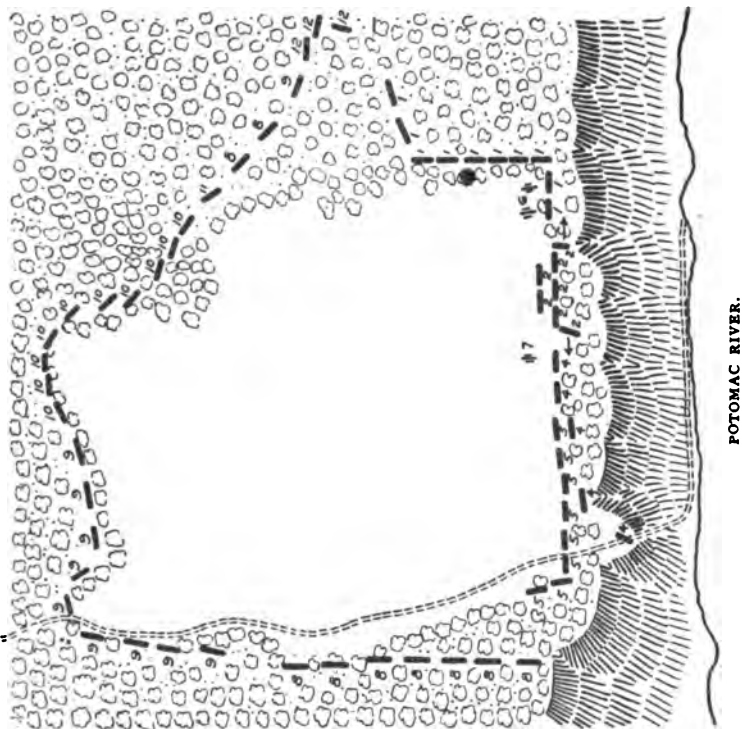
General Stone had reported to General McClellan the condition of affairs as far as they were known by him at quarter of ten, and had been congratulated by the Commander-in-Chief. At half-past eleven General Stone urged that an advance should be made by General McCall toward Goose Creek, and he stated later that he laid all his plans with the expectation that such a movement would be made. General McClellan promised him the support of General Banks at call. An order, the hour of which is not definitely

known, was given by General McClellan to "take Leesburg." At one p. m., although he believed that General Evans had "four thousand men and expected reinforcements," and he knew that there were at that time only about a thousand Union troops across the river at the bluff, Stone reported to McClellan: "I believe this command can occupy Leesburg today." He adds: "We are a little short of boats."

By ten o'clock, Colonel Devens had learned through Quartermaster Howe that Colonel Baker would come over and take command, but he stated that he received no orders from him until he had returned to the bluff, at just fifteen minutes after two. Colonel Baker most heartily commended the work which had thus far been done by the Fifteenth, and assigned to it the position of honor in the battle line.

The troops were arranged on the northern and eastern edges of the first open field, near the bluff. The Fifteenth Regiment was at the extreme right, protected in part by the woods, in the form of a right angle with its long side containing six companies about perpendicular to the river, and the rest of the line, made up of two companies, D and F, parallel to the river. In this angle, a little to the front, was posted Lieutenant Frank S. French of the First United States Artillery, with two mountain howitzers. A field piece of the Third Rhode Island Battery, under Lieutenant W. M. Bramhall of the New York Light Battery, was farther to the left. A considerable portion of the Fifteenth Regiment was protected by the edge of the woods, the guns were in the open. Next came the Twentieth Massachusetts Regiment with three hundred and eighteen men. The right of the Twentieth was on the left of Company D of the Fifteenth. Colonel Cogswell of the Forty-second New York, the Tammany Regiment, took his position next to the left of the Twentieth Massachusetts. He had only a single company with him when he came upon the field in the middle of the afternoon, but four other companies arrived by the end of the engagement. At the extreme left were eight companies of the First California

Regiment (afterwards Seventy-first Pennsylvania), with five hundred and twenty men, under Lieutenant-Colonel Wistar. Companies A and I of the Fifteenth and a company of the Twentieth formed the skirmish line on the right in the direction of Smart's Mill. The object of this line was to protect



This map is not drawn according to scale, and is merely an attempt at making a graphical representation of the facts presented in the reports of the commanding officers. The lines were not closely kept. Some of the Confederates were in the tree-tops. Some of our troops were lying on the ground. A slight elevation partially protected the Union line parallel to the river. The companies of the 20th marked by arrows went into the skirmish lines in the directions indicated. Two companies of the 1st California were also in the skirmish line on the left.

1, 15th Mass., 10 companies. 2, 20th Mass., 7 companies. 4, 42d N. Y., 5 companies. 5, 1st Cal., 8 companies. 6, Howitzers. 7, Field-piece. 8, 18th Miss., 9 companies. 9, 17th Miss., 10 companies. 10, 8th Va., 9 companies. 11, 13th Miss., 1 company (some authorities say 2). 12, Cavalry, 3 companies.

the rear of the Fifteenth. The skirmishing was severe, but the line was held against the infantry and cavalry companies which had been under Colonel Jennifer since morning. It must be remembered that the Fifteenth alone had been in the morning skirmishes. There were less than fifteen hundred Union men on the field at any one time; for those from the Fifteenth, wounded in the skirmishes, had retired to the island with their attendants before the main battle began, and before the last troops had arrived from the Tammany Regiment, many of the wounded and those who cared for them had left the bluff.

It was about three o'clock when the Eighth Virginia under Colonel Hunton made an attack from a commanding position in the woods on the left and center. The fire of this regiment was very destructive, especially to those who supported the field piece and the howitzers. Under these circumstances the artillery was of little use, and was abandoned after eight rounds or less had been fired. The Eighteenth and Seventeenth Mississippi, and a company of the Thirteenth Mississippi joined the Eighth Virginia. There was continuous firing from three until after five o'clock. At four o'clock two companies of the Fifteenth, G and H, were detached from the right to support the left of the line which was at this time suffering most severely.

Lieutenant-Colonel Ward's diary states: "Our regiment behaved nobly. There was a cool, deliberate determination about them that I was proud to recognize. We were within a stone's throw of the enemy and our regiment stood the fire of the rebels for nearly three hours.....without flinching, all the time loading and firing without being at all excited or showing any disposition to relax their hold.....It was a sort of a stand still fight. The rebels threw away a great deal of their ammunition, most of their balls went over. Occasionally the rebels would show themselves by coming out of the woods in squads. Several old gentlemen in citizens dress were seen among the rebels. They were richly

dressed in dark suits, white or buff vests. Some of them were seen to fall.....I had been to the right and was returning toward the left of our regiment, when about opposite the center I was struck with a musket or rifle ball in the left leg about half way between the knee and the ankle. The ball passed through sideways and broke the bones in a shocking manner. I was immediately taken from the field back to the island."

The boats passed irregularly to the Virginia shore loaded with reënforcements of the Tammany Regiment, and back to the island with the wounded.

At about five o'clock or a little before, Colonel Baker, who had exposed himself during the engagement with the most unstinted courage, fell. He had just ordered that messengers should be sent for reënforcements from Edward's Ferry. After the death of Colonel Baker, Colonel Lee of the Twentieth assumed command, supposing it his duty. He was inclined to retreat to the river as he considered the battle lost. But it was soon found that Colonel Cogswell of the Forty-second New York was entitled to command. When Colonel Cogswell came upon the field, Colonel Baker had characteristically greeted him with the lines:

"One blast upon (your) bugle horn
Is worth a thousand men."

He had the reputation of being an able officer, but he knew little of the battle up to the point where he assumed command. His plan was to cut his way to the Union troops at Edward's Ferry by or through the main body of the enemy, which lay to the left. This was in direct opposition to the plan of the battle up to this point, and it is claimed by some, substituted a forlorn hope for assured safety. It is claimed that there would have been little difficulty in holding the position previously occupied until the on-coming darkness put an end to the battle; that it would also have been possible to withdraw to Smart's Mill on the right, and once there, our men would have been under the protection

of the Union guns on the Maryland shore, and moreover, with the exception of a very narrow channel, the river between the mill and the island was fordable. Yet we must remember that Colonel Devens said before the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War in regard to the movement towards Edward's Ferry, "I have no doubt that was the true move, not the least." Apparently no one in authority thought of Smart's Mill as a place of safety at this time. As a preliminary step to the movement towards Edward's Ferry Colonel Cogswell ordered the Fifteenth to move from the right to the left of the line. Colonel Devens says of this movement: "The cool manner in which the regiment marched from the right to the left of the line, to protect the left, would have won for it an historic name if it had been done on one of the battle-fields of Europe."

There was again confusion in giving or transmitting or receiving orders. Colonel Cogswell says that he commanded all the troops to advance to the left in a solid body on the enemy's line, that he advanced with the two Tammany companies and a portion of the California Regiment, but that the Fifteenth and Twentieth did not follow. Colonel Devens says: "Confusion was created by the appearance of an officer of the enemy's in front of the (companies of the) Tammany Regiment who called on them to charge on the enemy. The detachment of the Tammany Regiment, probably mistaking this for an order from their own officers, rushed forward to the charge, and a part of the Fifteenth Massachusetts, supposing that an order had been given for the advance of the whole line, rushed forward with eagerness, but was promptly recalled by their officers, who had received no such order." One of the men of the Fifteenth says: "The battle again commenced by one of the rebel leaders, who was mounted on a bay horse, riding out of the woods and shouting, 'Come on, boys, we have them now!' He had scarcely uttered these words when he dropped dead." The rebels drove back the Tammany companies, which retreated

in such a way as to produce considerable confusion. Parke Godwin said of the next few minutes: "The Fifteenth Massachusetts, penned in between a crib of fire, yet were as solid as a mass of granite when they were as free to move as the winds were that blew over them." The rebels, not believing that fresh volunteer troops could stand the fire so well, yelled out, as they poured in volley after volley, "Give it to them damned regulars!" but they could not break the line.

At last Colonel Cogswell gave the order to retreat to the river bank. Colonel Devens said to him, "Sir, I do not wish to retreat. Do you issue it as an order?" Yes, sir," Cogswell replied. "I would like to have you repeat it in the presence of my major, then," said Devens. "I order you to retreat," Cogswell commanded again. Major Kimball corroborates this statement, and is confident that the Union troops might have been saved from the terrible disaster which befell them, if they had been allowed to maintain their position or to withdraw to the right instead of making the movement to the left. As he commanded the skirmish line on the right he was well able to judge of this.

Not a man left his position until the order for retiring had been given them, then down the hill they went in the midst of a shower of leaden rain. William J. Coulter writes: "When we reached the river a boat came over from the island with reinforcements—Company H of the Tammany Regiment—and as they left the boat, the wounded who were near by, who were able, commenced to get into it, as also did those who were anxious to save their lives. The boat was overloaded, and it went down with nearly a hundred souls on board, about thirty of whom were drowned. This was a most terrible sight. . . . But a few moments before this I had stood on the battle-ground and witnessed a score or more of brave men fall by the bullet, but I was not so much affected as I was when I saw that boat go down with its living freight." Thus the only means of crossing the river was destroyed, for the three small boats by which the troops who first crossed were carried, seem to have disappeared,

except one skiff, which Colonel Lee is reported to have refused to use for his personal safety, while the wounded needed it more than he. This, too, soon disappeared. Further up the river at Smart's Mill, Captain Bartlett of the Twentieth found "a small sunken skiff in the mill-way." It was floated, and by its means some eighty men from the four regiments represented in the battle, crossed the river. Captain Watson of Company E made his way with eight men to Edward's Ferry and crossed at that point.

Colonel Devens's report continues: "For the purpose of retarding as much as possible the approach of the enemy, by direction of Colonel Cogswell, I ordered the Fifteenth Regiment to deploy as skirmishers over the bank of the river, which order was executed, and several volleys were given and returned between them and other of our forces and the enemy, who were now pressing upon us in great numbers and firing down furious volleys on this plateau and into the river to prevent escape. It was impossible longer to continue to resist, and I had no hesitation in advising men to escape as they could, ordering them in all cases to throw their arms into the river rather than give them to the enemy. This order was generally obeyed, although several of the men swam the river with their muskets on their backs, and others have returned to camp, bringing with them their muskets, who had remained on the Virginia shore for two nights rather than to part with their weapons in order to facilitate their escape."

The men acted as individuals or in groups, spurred on by the destructive fire that now poured down upon them. Lieutenant Charles H. Eager of Company B thus describes his experience and the rescue of Colonel Devens:

"After the order had been given to retreat, we rallied in a kind of bridle-path under the bluff, and near the river, when Colonel Devens ordered us to throw our arms into the river and take care of ourselves as best we could. There were a good many of the company who said they could not

swim, or did not dare undertake it. I told them I could not swim, but we could keep together as much as possible, make our way up the river, and perhaps find a boat in which we could cross. George L. Boss, upon hearing me say I could not swim, said two or three of them could take me across, and soon appeared with Corporal Fred H. Sibley and Alvan A. Simonds, who insisted upon my going with them. I told them I might be the means of drowning them all, and they had better go without me, but they still insisted, and seemed so confident of success, I told them that if I could find anything that would float I would make the attempt. Upon going to the river edge, we found a limb some six inches through at the butt and perhaps ten feet long, and in pulling that out, pulled up a common floor joist about the same length. Upon seeing that, I told them I could "make the trip" with it on my own hook, and not endanger their lives, but they would not hear a word to that and said I must go with them. At this point Walter A. Eames offered his services in assisting us across, and which proved to be very valuable. I certainly think without his help we should have had hard work to have reached the opposite shore. Just as we were about to embark, Colonel Devens came to the water's edge stripped of his equipments and clothing. When Eames asked him if he could swim, he replied that he could not. Eames said to him, 'Hop on to our craft and we will take you across, too.' After satisfying himself that they were all swimmers but me, he waded in.

"In spite of all our efforts we drifted quite a distance down stream, the current being strong, and finally landed on a small island separated from Harrison's Island by a stream some twenty-five feet wide, which proved to be fordable, only about waist deep. When we arrived at the old barn we learned that no soldiers would be allowed to cross, as they were very busy getting the wounded from the island to the Maryland shore. We found our overcoats and blankets which we had left there in the morning, wrapped ourselves

up and laid down by some wheat stacks till there was an opportunity for us to cross over. We reached Poolesville about twelve o'clock at night, some barefooted, others bare-headed, and some with nothing but shirt and overcoat."

Lieutenant Derby of Company H wrote: "I hadn't a suspicion but what I could swim across with ease, so I pulled off my boots and laid my sword, pistol and belt on a small board to push across. I was anxious to save my sword, as it looked too much like surrendering to lose that. I kept all my clothes on and my pockets full. I pushed off quite deliberately, although the water was full of drowning soldiers and bullets from the rebels on the top of the bluff. I made slow progress with one hand, and had to abandon my raft and cargo. I got along very well a little more than half-way, when I found that every effort I made only pushed my head under water, and it suddenly flashed upon me that I should drown. I didn't feel any pain or exhaustion,—the sensation was exactly like being overcome with drowsiness. I swallowed water in spite of all I could do, till at last I sank unconscious. There was a small island near Harrison's against which the current drifted me, and aroused me enough to crawl a step or two, but not enough to know what I was doing till I dropped just at the edge of the water with my head in the soft clay-mud. My good fortune still continued, and Colonel Devens, swimming across on a log, landed right where I lay. He had me taken up and carried over to Harrison's Island to a good fire, where I soon began to feel quite comfortable, but was afterwards taken sick."

Major Kimball was also one of the party when it pushed off from the Virginia shore, all believing that the two sticks would be sufficient, with their hands simply resting upon them, to buoy them up and thus keep their heads above water; but the load was too much for the frail craft, and the major, believing he could swim the stream, let go and struck out alone for the island; he measured the depth of the Potomac three times in his passage, but finally reached the island

in safety. The rebel bullets were striking the water all about, but fortunately all of this party escaped being hit, but many others were shot in the water while attempting to cross.

These cases must be taken as samples of those who succeeded in crossing. Of those who were drowned, no record remains. There were many instances of personal gallantry. "Officers displayed for their men, and men for their officers, that beautiful devotion which is only to be found among true soldiers."

Many of those who remained on the bank and dared not trust themselves to the stream since they were unable to swim, just as the darkness was closing in, sent one of their number with a flag of truce to the enemy. The rebels agreed to stop firing if the Union troops would lay down their arms and surrender. As there was no alternative, our men were obliged to accept these conditions. Colonel Cogswell and Colonel Lee were among the prisoners.

In order to understand the condition of affairs on the island, it will be necessary to go back once more to the middle of the day. Colonel Hinks of the Nineteenth Massachusetts, who had arrived opposite Harrison's Island at half-past one, after seeing that a line had been stretched across the river from the Maryland shore to the island so as to facilitate the passage of the boat, passed with his regiment over to the island and as Colonel Baker had already been killed and the retreat begun, established as good a state of defense as he could. He also took measures for receiving and caring for the wounded, and for gathering in those who had crossed over from Virginia. As it became dark, the wounded were crowded together in and about the two farm houses, which were used as hospitals. "No light had been provided or could be found until Surgeon Haven discovered two inches of candle in an old bottle, by the light of which Lieutenant-Colonel Ward's limb was amputated." "It was a sad sight to see a brave officer in that position." More candles were afterwards found in a closet. Surgeon Bates,

who rose for this work from a sick bed to which he had been confined for several weeks, attended to the wounded on the Maryland shore. Surgeon Haywood of the Twentieth Massachusetts was with Assistant-Surgeon Haven on the island. Chaplain Scandlin was also very devoted in his attentions to the wounded and dying. The transportation of the wounded to the Maryland shore was continued until the noon of Tuesday, October 22.

The hospital accommodations at Poolesville were excellent. They consisted of two wooden buildings of one story each, recently erected. The beds were clean and comfortable. Of the burial of the dead and the care of the wounded on the Virginia shore, Colonel Hinks states in his report :

"On the morning of the 22d, I dispatched Lieutenant Dodge of the Nineteenth Massachusetts with a flag of truce, to request of the Confederate commander permission to remove our wounded, of which numbers lay in view uncared for, on the Virginia shore. This was denied, except in the case of a few apparently mortally wounded. The remainder were taken prisoners. Permission for my surgeon to cross and treat the wounded was also refused, except upon condition that he should remain a prisoner in their hands. Subsequently I dispatched Captain Vaughn of the Rhode Island Battery with another flag of truce, to obtain permission to bury the dead, which was acceded to, with the stipulation that no movement of troops should be made from the island to the Maryland shore in retreat while burying party was employed, and I dispatched Captain Vaughn with a party of ten men for that purpose, who remained until after dark, and succeeded in burying forty-seven bodies which he reported to be about two-thirds of the number lying upon the ground; but night coming on, he was unable to bury the remainder."

A letter of Rev. Christopher Cushing of North Brookfield, published in the Worcester Spy, gives us further particulars :

"I know that our readers will be interested in any facts respecting the brave soldiers who fell in the recent engagement at Ball's Bluff, and particularly as to the burial of the dead. This sad service accidentally devolved on Captain T. F. Vaughn of the Rhode Island Battery, who was assisted by twelve men, mostly of the Nineteenth Massachusetts Regiment. He found most of the bodies in the woods around the open field of which such frequent mention has been made in the papers. Two of the bodies were deprived of their clothing, with the exception of the shirts. This being contrary to the customs of war, the rebel officers expressed regret when they saw it, and said they wished it distinctly understood that this was contrary to their orders and did not meet with their approbation. In some other instances a coat or jacket was taken. As indicating what the rebels are destitute of, it is a significant fact that the hats and caps and boots and shoes were all taken, and the buttons ripped off from the clothing. There was no instance of a body having been mutilated by the enemy. But everything which the soldiers carried in their pockets was taken out, and the search was so thorough that there were only three instances in which anything could be found to aid in identifying the bodies. On the pants of one was found the name of Captain Alden; under the body of another there was an envelope superscribed James Douglas; into the top of the socks of another were beautifully inwrought the letters W. H. H. L.

"Forty-seven bodies were buried upon the battle-field, twelve were brought over to Harrison's Island, and almost twenty were left for the enemy to bury. The sad work was left thus unfinished, because the darkness of night interposed, and the next day Captain Vaughn was sick. So thoroughly had the battle-field been examined by the enemy that only two bodies of the rebel dead were found during the whole day, and only two of our wounded men; these were claimed as prisoners of war and sent to the hospital at Leesburg. Our dead were buried with their clothes on, laying the body

upon the side in trenches, usually two, three or four, side by side, never one upon another, and in the same trench there was in only one instance so many as eleven. The face was covered with leaves, and then the body was covered with earth to the depth of from three to five feet, and a stone was placed at the head and foot of each grave. So far as can be judged by the clothing about half of the dead on the battleground were of the Fifteenth Massachusetts Regiment."

Colonel Baker is said to have told Colonel Devens on this battle-field: "If I had two more such regiments as the Fifteenth I would force my way to Leesburg." In a letter of October 23, Chaplain Scandlin says: "Blood from the heart of our dear old commonwealth has been freely shed. The colonel has drawn the men to him by a bond never to be severed—has shown himself a man fit for the command. He led them. It was the same with Lieutenant-Colonel Ward, who was borne from the field grasping the sword he had shown his fitness to wield. We have now written in characters of blood our need of the rifles we used every honorable effort to obtain. Had we possessed them, our men need not have been exposed nearly as much as they were."

Of the conduct of the men of the regiment during the battle, Colonel Devens said: "They behaved most nobly during the entire day; every man did his duty; there was no flinching, no disobedience, no cowardice, and they fought to the very last with great cheerfulness." General McClellan reported: "Nothing has occurred in the war yet equal to the heroic conduct of the Fifteenth Massachusetts." To the commander he said: "Colonel Devens, in my next battle I want you to be with me."

William S. Davis, in presenting colors to the Twenty-fifth Massachusetts Regiment, said of the Fifteenth at Ball's Bluff: "For the first time since hostilities broke out, Worcester County takes home to herself the great sorrow of war. Some of her most heroic spirits have departed, and deeply do we deplore their loss, the loss of brave, steady, trust-

worthy men from our army—the loss of kind, faithful, true-hearted husbands and fathers, brothers and sons from our grief-stricken community.” Nor was the courage of the regiment diminished as the days passed by and the missing men still failed to appear. The Washington dispatch to the New York Herald, dated October 28, gives the following account of the first parade after October 21:

“On Thursday evening, the Fifteenth Massachusetts Regiment held its first parade since the battle. The scene was impressive and touching. Less than half the numerical force of the regiment before the battle was present. Some companies marched into line with less than twenty men, many of them without arms, many without uniforms, but none without brave and manly hearts. After the parade the regiment was formed in square, and their noble and gallant Colonel Devens made them an address, to which even a faithful verbal report would do injustice, for no description could reproduce the tender, subdued fervor with which the colonel first spoke, the electric sympathy by which his men were affected, or the earnest determination with which the question was asked and answered: ‘Soldiers of Massachusetts, men of Worcester County, with these fearful gaps in your lines, with the recollection of the fearful struggle of Monday fresh upon your thoughts, with the knowledge of the bereaved and soul-stricken ones at home, weeping for those whom they will see no more on earth, with that hospital before your eyes filled with wounded and maimed comrades, I ask you now, whether you are ready again to meet the traitorous foe who are endeavoring to subvert our government, and are crushing under the iron heel of despotism the liberties of a part of our country? Would you go next week? Would you go tomorrow? Would you go this moment?’ And a hearty ‘yes’ burst from every lip. No man who knows what that noble regiment did on the 21st, could doubt them. The colonel himself had stood their sponsor in the baptism of fire, and the question was a needless one; but as ‘iron sharpeneth iron, so doth a man the face of his friend.’”

CHAPTER IV.

THE LOSSES AT BALL'S BLUFF.

OCTOBER 21, 1861- .

IN the camp at Poolesville, the days that followed the battle of Ball's Bluff were full of anxiety for missing comrades, whose fate was as yet unknown. Little definite information was obtained for over two weeks. In one tent, where ten had been quartered, eight were missing. This was an extreme case, but from many tents half the men were gone. Some were known to have been killed. Their comrades had seen them fall and stood by them in their dying moments. Others were reported to have been buried by the detail under Captain Vaughn. November 5, the Potomac gave up the bodies of six of its victims. When the list of the Richmond prisoners arrived, together with the information about the dead and wounded which these prisoners were able to give, the casualty record was made as complete as it ever is likely to be. There were a few among the missing, however, whose fate is still unknown.

The casualties given in the "Official Records of the War of the Rebellion" are: Fourteen killed, sixty wounded and two hundred and twenty-seven missing in action. The monthly report of the regiment for October, 1861, gives: Sixteen killed and two hundred and twenty-three missing in action. The Individual Record shows that at least twenty-nine of the regiment perished on the field or in the river, and that there were seven more of those "missing in action" who, there is good reason to suppose, were killed or drowned.

This gives us thirty-six. If we add eight more, who were mortally wounded, we have a total of forty-four who lost their lives from the battle. Of these, thirty-eight were assured cases. This is the number given in Fox's "Regimental Losses."

The following is the list of the killed and mortally wounded :

Company A—Corporal Andrew W. Cowdrey, died Nov. 4.

Company B—Corporal Charles D. Monroe, Corporal George C. Taylor, George F. Benjamin, Al D. Osborne (died Dec. 1), Elijah M. Scott, John K. Walker.

Company C—George W. Cutler, John Kirchner (supposed to have been drowned), Willard R. Lawrence, Luther G. Turner (died Nov. 1), William Walker (supposed to have been drowned), James G. Warner.

Company D—Second-Lieutenant William J. Grout, Stillman L. Cummings, Charles H. Goff, John W. Smith, John F. Stafford.

Company E—James Hilton, Joseph Jennison Jr.

Company F—Sergeant Ferdinand Dexter, Francis Dickison, Sidney Smith.

Company G—Alonzo R. Belknap (died Oct. 23), Elmer N. Newton, George G. Phillips, J. D. Sherman.

Company H—James Allen, Lewis Hairl (died Nov. 5), Eugene Keith, William Mann (supposed to have been killed), David J. Messenger (died at Leesburg from wounds, date unknown), George F. Seaver, Samuel Sibley (died Nov. 6).

Company I—Sergeant Moses J. Warren (died Oct. 25), Thomas Cassidy, Thomas O'Connor (missing in action Oct. 1, no further record), William Scott, Frederick Soder and James Stevens (both missing in action Oct. 21, no further record).

Company K—Captain Moses W. Gatchell, Cincinnatus A. Buffum, James Stringer, John Whalon.

In addition to the mortally wounded, the Individual Record shows that seventy-five others were wounded more

or less seriously. There were doubtless some, especially among the prisoners, whose wounds escaped record. Of those who were wounded, sixteen were discharged within a few months on account of disability, presumably from their wounds.

Two hundred and fifteen is the total number of reported cases of capture. Of these, six died in prison in addition to those who were mortally wounded. Five died so soon after release that there is good reason to suppose that death resulted from disease incurred while in prison. There were besides thirty at least, probably more, who were discharged for disability before they rejoined the regiment.

This gives a total casualty record of three hundred and thirty-four. If we add the twelve deaths of those who were or had been prisoners to the thirty-eight or forty-four previously mentioned, we have forty-nine assured or fifty-six probable cases. There were doubtless a hundred men and probably more, permanently lost to the regiment from this battle.

It is impossible to tell the story of all who died or to fitly eulogize their deeds and characters. Space is taken for mention of the commissioned officers, not because they were more worthy than the enlisted men who fell, but because their position gave them prominence.

Moses W. Gatchell, captain of Company K, was born in Woonsocket, Rhode Island, February 19, 1836. On account of his father's participation in the Dorr Rebellion in that commonwealth in 1844, the family was obliged to leave the state. Mr. Gatchell settled in Blackstone and his son, Moses W., attended the schools of that town. He afterwards spent a year at Wilbraham Academy. When his school life was finished, he went to work in his father's carriage-shop and continued in this business until the war opened. He took an early and active interest in politics and became a leader in the Douglas Democratic organization before he was of legal age. When the first call for enlistments was made, at

the request of citizens of all parties, he called a meeting to raise a company, having received authority from Governor Andrew to do so, and was the first man to sign the enrollment certificate in the town of Blackstone. As a soldier he showed a high sense of honor, unfaltering courage and a deep devotion to the cause for which he fought. Though his period of service was so brief, yet it gave assured promise of a noble career as a soldier, had his life been spared.

The extreme youth, the engaging personality, the free-handed generosity, the thorough knowledge of military tactics, the earnestness of purpose and the intense patriotism of Second-Lieutenant John William Grout, made him one of the best known, best loved and most highly respected officers of the regiment. His loss therefore was felt with especial keenness by all the members of the Fifteenth and a halo of romance has gathered around his story. When, in later years, a camp of the Sons of Veterans was organized in Worcester, it was fittingly called the "Willie Grout Camp," as no nobler personification could be found than he, of the ideas which this order represents.

He was born in the summer of 1843, and was the only son of Jonathan Grout, Esq., of Worcester. As he grew up he entered the military department of the Highland School, in that city. He became a captain of the cadets and was so proficient in military tactics that when the war broke out his services as a drill-master were in great demand. It was only after the most urgent entreaties that his parents could be brought to consent that he should enter the army. He became second-lieutenant of Company D, and upon him devolved much of the early drilling of that company. Colonel Devens spoke of him as a model of behavior.

At the battle of Ball's Bluff he exhibited great coolness and bravery. When the regiment retired to the river, he went over to the island with a boat load of the wounded and then returned to the Virginia bank. He asked Colonel Devens: "Is there anything more that I can do?" He received

the reply, "Nothing but take care of yourself." Then he started with some companions to swim the river, but before he reached the island he was struck by a ball. As he felt his strength leaving him, he said: "Tell Company D that I should have escaped, but I am shot." Those were the last words that he was known to have uttered. It was not until November 5, that his body was discovered, and then it was sent to his family in Worcester and laid to rest November 12 with the most impressive ceremonies.

The well-known song entitled, "The Vacant Chair," was written in his memory by Henry S. Washburn.

"We shall meet, but we shall miss him,
There will be one vacant chair;
We shall linger to caress him,
While we breathe our evening prayer.

"When a year ago we gathered,
Joy was in his mild blue eye,
But a golden chord is severed,
And our hopes in ruins lie.

"At our fireside, sad and lonely,
Often will the bosom swell,
At remembrance of the story
How our noble Willie fell ;

"How he strove to bear our banner
Through the thickest of the fight,
And upheld our country's honor
With the strength of manhood's might.

"True, they tell us wreaths of glory
Evermore shall deck his brow,
But this soothes the anguish only,
Sweeping o'er our heart-strings now.

"Sleep to-day, O early fallen !
In thy green and narrow bed ;
Dirges from the pine and cypress
Mingle with the tears we shed.

"We shall meet, but we shall miss him,
There will be one vacant chair ;
We shall linger to caress him,
While we breathe our evening prayer."

In the diary of E. J. Russell we read: "I have visited all the hospitals since the wounded came in. Generally there was not so much apparent suffering, as most of the severely wounded were under the influence of opiates. In one corner of the room you would see a hand or a foot or a leg..... Corporal Cowdrey of Company A died in the hospital last night. He has a young wife and two small children in Leominster. He was a man of great vivacity, and was constantly cheering those who were not half so badly wounded as himself. He was wounded in the throat first, and after he got over to the island he was wounded in the hip and the ball could not be found without endangering his life. It probably caused inward bleeding. He was not considered in danger until a short time before his death. I saw a man in the hospital to-day who is in the last hours of life. He was wounded in the shoulder and the ball lodged near his heart and ruptured an artery. They had cut into the back of his shoulder blade to try and take up a blood vessel, but found they could not without taking his life, and the artery was stuffed with lint to prolong his life. He was a man of great muscular power, and the loss of blood showed itself in white lips and glassy eyes and marble shoulders. He was a member of Company H (Lewis Hairl), the first wounded in the skirmish." That night, November 5, this man died.

The following extracts are from the diary of Chaplain Scandlin:

"October 31. Usual visits through the four hospitals. Patients doing exceedingly well. All they can need is provided. The interest and sympathy of Massachusetts is met on every hand. There are delegates from every town connected with our regiment; so many callers that they fairly trouble us. There are two poor fellows marked with death. Turner of Company C was wounded in the right arm. Great loss of blood prevented immediate amputation, and he was left till among the last in the transportation from the river

up. Sibley of Company H was shot early in the morning, two bullets passing through each thigh. He fired four or five times after he was wounded, until a third bullet struck him in the right knee. When I got upon the island they commenced with him, and while they were extracting the bullets from his thigh, he said: 'Chaplain, will you find my wallet and put those bullets in? I shall want them some time.' From that time throughout he has been bright, cheerful and hopeful.

"November 1. Poor Turner passed from us about four P.M.

"November 3. Visited all the hospitals, reading a portion of scripture, and making a prayer in each.

"November 6. Attended funeral of Hairl and Sibley, both of Company H."

But the hospitals soon became less crowded. By the first of November, some of the wounded and sick were allowed to go home on furloughs. Chaplain Scandlin took to Worcester County about twenty-five, when he returned November 2. Moreover, the wounded returned to camp, some with slings, some with canes and crutches, so that few were left in the hospital on account of wounds, when the winter set in.

Lieutenant-Colonel George H. Ward was removed to the house of Dr. Brace, a resident physician, October 24. He occupied a large front room in company with Surgeon Bates. He had many callers from the camp and from those who came from home to visit their friends. His leg healed slowly, and it was thought for a time that a second amputation would be necessary. This, however, was avoided. On the 15th of December, he was able to go out of doors for the first time. About the 1st of January, he was able to act with Major Kimball and Captain Watson as a committee for the examination of the non-commissioned officers as regarded their knowledge of military affairs. He started for home January 28 and arrived January 31. On the 15th of February, he went "up town" for the first time. By the 20th, he had

opened a recruiting office at the Lincoln House, as he had been detailed for six months for this service.

From the battle of Ball's Bluff to the close of the winter many of the members of the Fifteenth Regiment were held by the rebels as prisoners in Richmond and elsewhere. Captain Clark S. Simonds and several of his men had been captured in the second skirmish. Some had fallen into the hands of the enemy because they had been disabled by wounds. Others, who stayed upon the top or slope of the bluff to protect the passage of the troops across the river, as Lieutenant J. Evarts Greene, were either overpowered, or were taken prisoners while searching for their comrades in the twilight. But the greater number surrendered as the darkness came on, or during the evening, because they found themselves unable to resist or to escape from the enemy pressing more closely upon them.

Several of the wounded had been carried in ambulances to Leesburg in the afternoon, and others were taken thither at the close of the battle or by the following morning in the same way.

Henry Greenwood of Company C thus describes his capture and removal to Leesburg: "At about eleven o'clock the enemy crept down the bluff, and before we knew they were near, we were startled by a discharge of firearms into the crowd. After we had surrendered, they fired another volley. After they had demanded our arms,—although these were not in the hands of the men, as they had been thrown into the river,—they marched us up the hill to go to Leesburg. On the top of the hill, on the field of battle, we could see our dead, who lay as they had fallen or where they had been laid by their comrades. As we passed by the place where we had made our stand in the morning, we could see the enemy's dead. We were taken, as it seemed to me, by a roundabout way to the town. We passed through an artillery camp, and there we received a loaf of bread from a man who was carrying it to their pickets. This was very

acceptable to us, as we had not had anything since Sunday noon. After arriving at Leesburg we saw a number of troops inside what we were told was the court-house yard."

Those who had reached Leesburg at an earlier hour had been received by a great crowd of townspeople who were made frantic by the victory. They were greeted by the cries: "We've got 'em this time!" "Oh, you infernal Yankees!" "Make way, Jim; I want to see a Yank!" Captain J. Evarts Greene relates: "The officers on their arrival in Leesburg were conducted to the headquarters of General Evans, the rebel commander, where they were received with a fair show of courtesy, and a bottle of peach brandy was passed around. From this bottle, or some other, it seems that General Evans had copiously refreshed himself. After some loud and boastful, but not ill-humored talk, he required all the prisoners to sign a parole in which they engaged to report themselves at Richmond within a few days. All refused to sign it, whereupon Evans became coarsely abusive and threatening in speech and demeanor. Colonel Cogswell of the Tammany Regiment, who was among the prisoners and their senior officer, who had known Evans well in the "old army," responded in language quite as strong, and for a few moments a violent collision seemed imminent, but friends of each intervened and some measure of decorum was restored. It appeared afterward that General Evans apprehended an advance of General McClellan's right wing which might cut off his force from the rebel army and recapture his prisoners, and thought it a clever device to save the officers, at least, by inducing them to undertake the journey to Richmond at their own expense and risk. He was so enraged by the failure of this scheme that he gave orders to Colonel Hunton, his second in command, to tie all the officers' hands behind them after their departure from his headquarters. But Colonel Hunton scorned that meanness, and refused to obey the order."

About midnight all the prisoners, except a few who could

not be moved on account of their wounds, were marched to an old camping-ground some two miles from the town. From this point a few, who were unable to walk, and two-thirds of the officers, were provided with conveyances to Manassas Junction. Before the journey was over, however, many of the officers had offered to exchange places with worn-out men and were marching in the ranks. The guard detail to conduct the prisoners to Manassas was commanded by Captain Otho R. Singleton of a Mississippi regiment. This officer, who before the war and after it represented one of the districts of his state in Congress, and during the war was a representative in the Confederate Congress, performed his task with perfect courtesy and kindness. So far as his orders would permit, he left nothing undone to alleviate the toil and suffering of that grievous march, and risked a reprimand or worse censure by relaxing in favor of the prisoners the rigor of the orders given him. Captain Greene says that it gave him great satisfaction many years after to thank Captain Singleton for his kindness, and to assure him that all the prisoners in that forlorn company remembered him with sincere gratitude, respect and affection. Some years later still, in 1883, Captain Singleton returned to Captain Greene the sword which the latter had placed in his hands in token of surrender at the close of the Ball's Bluff fight.

Greenwood's diary states: "We commenced our march about one o'clock Tuesday morning, and continued it until about six o'clock at night. It began to rain early in the morning, and it rained all day. Of all the walking that I ever saw, this was the worst, as we carried on our feet some four or five pounds of the sacred soil of Virginia. We halted several times during the day, but as the ground was so wet, we did not rest much. I got asleep several times as I was walking, and did not wake up until I had run against the man in front of me. We arrived near night at a flour mill on a small stream. We remained there about three-quarters of an hour. We then proceeded to the famous

"Stone House" on Bull Run Creek, and camped near it on the hillside. This hill was part of the battle-field of Bull Run. We were furnished with corn-bread, the first food some had had since leaving the camp at Poolesville. After supper we lay down to sleep with our feet to huge fires, with nothing to cover us but our clothing and the canopy of heaven. I never slept any better than I did that night, though the ground was wet."

And no wonder; for just think what these men had passed through! On Sunday night they had crossed the Potomac. All day Monday, they had been in the skirmish-line or on the battle-field. Then came the vain attempts to escape and twenty-four hours on the march through mud and rain, broken by brief periods of halting, where rest was impossible. Some of them had eaten nothing from dinner time on Sunday until Tuesday night. At day-break they started once more, and by ten o'clock had covered the seven miles which lay between the "Stone House" and Manassas Junction. They crossed Bull Run and went up the hill where the left flank of McDowell's army had stood. "On this hill, in front of the Henry house, one could see the graves of those who fell and were buried where they fell. One of the rebel guards exhibited the bitterness of his spirit by pulling a rail from a fence and prying up with it the remains of a Union soldier. A good many of our men were carried from Bull Run Creek to Manassas Junction on account of sickness and lack of shoes. After our names had been taken, we were marched to the "Bull-Pen" used for Confederate deserters, and we remained in this place until dark. In the afternoon we were furnished with some bread, but Company C came off without their share.... About nine o'clock we were ordered out and marched with the usual guard to the train which was near the pen. We were packed like so many beef creatures, and very closely at that, in freight cars, with the sides and ends knocked off. We were crowded so that when one turned over, all the rest were obliged to do the

same. In the morning we stopped at Hanover, fifteen miles from Richmond, and through the kindness of one of the guards we got some whiskey, which was very welcome, as we were completely chilled through. The guard also got us some crackers."

The train arrived in Richmond about nine A. M. Crowds of people thronged the streets, all striving to get a sight of the Yankees. They were kept from the cars, but could be heard shouting. "There is one! See! there's a Yank!" "Send fifty of them to my plantation, and I will teach them how to pick cotton!" One old lady cried: "Why don't you send them down the river and make breastworks of them!" The soldiers on guard, however, treated their prisoners with the utmost courtesy. As the prisoners were marched along the street, the sidewalks, the balconies, and even the house-tops, were full of men, women and children. Sometimes a triumphant yell was heard and sometimes taunting voices cried: "I say, Yanks, how do you feel?"

The main body of the men from the Fifteenth went to Mayo's tobacco factory, on Carey Street, where navy tobacco had been made. The building was about one hundred feet long and forty wide and four stories in height. From the upper story, where the men of the Fifteenth and Twentieth Massachusetts were confined, there was an extensive view of the valley of the James. At first two hundred and twenty-three men were confined on this floor in the single great room. Sergeant Goddard of Company D was put in charge of this room, and under his direction, measures were taken to secure as much cleanliness and comfort as possible. The men were served with a little bread and meat about noon, and at night with a cupful of soup and a little more bread. They made their bed on the hard floor and few were fortunate enough to possess blankets. Some used their shoes for pillows. Such was the fatigue of the men that they slept soundly even under these conditions. On the following day another detachment of Ball's Bluff prisoners, taken at a later

hour, or kept back on account of wounds or sickness, arrived in Richmond. Their experience on the road had been very similar to that of those who had preceded them.

Friday, October 25, Mr. Greenwood wrote in his diary: "This morning long before the sun was up the men began to move about, and after that, there was no more sleep for the rest of the company. After washing us to the best of our ability, with our limited means, we were not disturbed until we were ordered to fall in for roll-call, which was the only thing which had sounded natural since our arrival. After roll-call we amused ourselves by looking out of the windows, playing cards and discussing the merits and demerits of our fight. In this discussion some of our high officers came in for their share of the blame. After breakfast the men had ample time for reflection. I thought of home and the dear ones that were left behind, not knowing whether we were dead or alive. We were fortunate enough to get hold of a sheet of writing paper, and I then wrote a letter to Mr. Ballard (publisher of the 'Saturday Courant,' Clinton), informing him who were taken prisoners of war, and requested him to publish the same. After this letter had been written, we all felt better. We all began to realize our position and made up our minds to be as contented as we could."

In some cases information had been received in regard to prisoners, before these letters arrived. The following story is told of Captain Simonds: "While marching to Ball's Bluff, Captain Simonds stepped on a rolling stone, which nearly threw him down, and in attempting to recover himself he ran the point of his sword into the side of his head, near the right ear, cutting a fearful gash, which bled profusely. When advised to return, he said: 'No; if there is to be a fight, I will be with my men.' He wore a white handkerchief tied about his head during the battle. A few days after the battle the pickets were once more talking to each other across the river. One of Company B calls out: 'Hello, Johnny.' Back comes the response: 'Hello, Yank; what is it?' 'I say,

Johnny, let's quit firing at each other: it don't do any good.' 'All right, Yank. I say, Yank, why didn't you uns stay over here the other day?' Answer: 'Well, Johnny, we found the southern climate a leetle too hot, so we concluded to come back and will see you later. I say, Johnny, got any prisoners over there?' Answer: 'Yes, a few; most on 'em gone to Richmond. I say, you, we got one long Yankee captain, who had a white handkerchief tied round his head when we captured him. He's gone to Richmond.' 'Was he wounded in the fight?' 'No, he said he got the cut in his head, which was tied up with the white rag, before the battle began.' This long Yankee captain was, of course, Captain Simonds, absolutely identified by his white handkerchief, and one can imagine the relief it was to us to know that he was alive, for he had been reported in the New York papers among the killed."

The regulations of the prisons required that the roll-call should begin at seven o'clock A. M. and that all lights except those of the hospitals should be extinguished at nine P. M. Sergeant Wirtz, who was afterwards in charge at Andersonville, officiated at the roll-call. John H. Prichard of Company B writes: "Only two meals per day were allowed. Breakfast about nine A. M. and supper about five P. M. or later. A few potatoes and some rice, without salt, and cabbage, were served occasionally. Worms in the rice, and beef whose 'offence smelt rank to heaven,' were among the common ingredients of our living. We were not allowed to approach the windows under penalty of being shot by the guard. Seven men were shot dead in various Richmond prisons, and several wounded, for this criminal offence. The room which I was in was fired into twice, but fortunately no one was injured. We slept on the bare floor for six weeks of the coldest part of the season, with no covering but our clothes which we happened to have on at the time of our capture. The facilities for keeping clean being entirely inadequate, and we having no change of clothing, all were soon covered with vermin which abounded in the prison."

Sunday, October 27, Henry Greenwood wrote: "Some are reading their testaments; some, books or papers, and others are writing. My thoughts wander back to home, and it seems as if I could see the people in the streets, wending their way to the various places of worship, and could hear the prayers which would go up from the pulpits in our little town for our welfare and safety. Our day ended with the singing of hymns and patriotic songs."

The men were allowed to purchase newspapers and such articles of food and clothing as their purses permitted. As few of the men had carried any considerable amount of money with them into the battle, the power of purchase was very limited at first. The boys hold in grateful remembrance the fact that Colonel Devens, mindful of them in their extremity, sent five hundred dollars to Captain John M. Studley to be used for their benefit. As soon as letters from the prisoners stating their situation and their needs were received by their friends in the North, measures were taken as promptly as possible to relieve them. The first news directly from the prisoners was published in the Worcester papers on November 18. The first letter came to Fitchburg, November 20, from Captain Clark S. Simonds. The Clinton paper published a letter from Henry Greenwood the same week, and mentioned one from Captain Henry Bowman. At Fitchburg, a meeting was called on the very day the letter was received. The appeal of Captain Simonds was read. Speaking of the eighteen men who had been captured from his company, he had written, "God bless them; they are all brave men and true, and deserve to be cared for." And they were cared for. Seven hundred dollars was raised and a large amount of clothing, blankets and other necessities were forwarded to Fortress Monroe by a special agent. A letter, written by Captain Simonds December 15, says: "Your letter bearing the date Fortress Monroe, November 25, came to hand on the 13th of December. I had previously received the clothing on December

3. It is a fact of which I shall ever speak with pride, that Fitchburg was the first and the only town as yet to aid her prisoners and Massachusetts the only state. Since the clothing came from Fitchburg, clothing of all kinds, enough for three hundred and fifty men has arrived, sent by the state authorities of Massachusetts for the relief of her men now here in captivity, placing them in comfort in this respect for the winter."

It was not long, however, before an abundant supply for all was sent from the various towns in the county. The statement of the Worcester Soldiers' Relief Committee is given as a sample of the whole: "December 25, forwarded from the employment room to the members of the Fifteenth Regiment now prisoners at Richmond, Virginia, eight boxes, three of which were packed by the Soldiers' Relief Committee, containing packages from the friends of the prisoners; also thirteen blankets, six quilts, ten shirts, twenty-five pairs socks, ten handkerchiefs, thirty bags sewing materials contributed by the committee, together with donation of clothing, chequer-boards, combs, stationery, towels, soap, handkerchiefs, from different individuals; one box from lunatic hospital, containing sixty-five pairs mittens, forty-three woolen shirts, fifty-six pairs of drawers; one box from Leominster; one box from New Worcester; two boxes from individuals." One soldier writes: "We are now better clothed than the men in the Confederate army, they being ready to purchase any garment we have to sell."

Henry Greenwood wrote to the "Saturday Courant" (Clinton), December 6: "Since my last letter to you, we have been removed from the building (Robert Mayo's navy tobacco factory) in which we were at first confined, to Taylor's building adjoining, in which the balance of the Leesburg prisoners were confined. With this change all the Fifteenth Regiment are together. The Fifteenth and Twentieth occupy one floor. There are two hundred and eight of us on this one floor and seventy on the upper floor, making two

hundred and seventy-eight in all. Some are engaged in making rings, shields, hearts, napkin rings, stilettos, etc., out of bones. There are some very fine rings elaborately carved. There is a great demand for bones. Others are engaged in reading (such reading matter as they can get hold of), playing cards, checkers or draughts, back-gammon and dominoes, most of them manufactured by the men. Since our removal here we have not been so closely confined to the building, as it is enclosed by a small yard which we can use during the day. Since we have been here, we have been complimented as being the best behaved lot that has been brought to Richmond. I will give you the notice:

“THE BEST OF A BAD LOT.—The Confederate prison authorities give credit to the Yankee prisoners of the Fifteenth Massachusetts Regiment of being the most cleanly, decent and orderly of all brought here. It is said that since their incarceration they have acknowledged the obligation due decency and a proper regard for their situation, by behaving themselves as civilized human beings, and regularly fumigating and washing up the apartments occupied by them.”—*Richmond Examiner*.

“We have preaching every Sabbath. The preacher is Rev. J. F. Mines, the chaplain of the Second Maine Regiment, who was captured at Bull Run. The choir is made up of our men. When we first arrived here, we had to lie on the hard floor, but now we have been provided with ticks by the Confederate government.”

The rebel authorities offered work with good wages to all the Northern prisoners who were shoemakers or tailors, especially to those who were wire-drawers, but notwithstanding the irksomeness of their life, not a man could be found who would do anything to help the Confederates. The news of Union victories and defeats was followed with no less interest by the men in prison than by their comrades in the camp. Rumors of exchange were discussed with great eagerness, and the probabilities of transfer from Rich-

mond to prisons further south was a frequent theme for conversation. After letters began to be received, the coming of the mail became the greatest excitement in the lives of many of the prisoners. The news from home and from friends in camp was shared with all who were interested. The replies to these letters were prolonged much beyond the usual length of epistles.

The commissioned officers had quarters by themselves. From the Fifteenth Regiment there were Captains Studley, Bowman, Simonds and Rockwood, and Lieutenants Greene, Hooper and Vassall. These were confined with forty-three other officers on the first floor of a tobacco-house owned by Liggon & Co. This floor was sixty-five and three-fourths feet by forty-five. It was divided by the tobacco-making machinery, which extended lengthwise, into two rooms, each about twenty-five feet wide by sixty-five long. In each were cot beds, and in one were mess-tables and benches. Gas was freely provided for cooking and lighting. The officers had three meals per day, but were obliged to provide themselves everything except bread, beef and soup. In general the officers were much better treated than the privates, and with their larger personal means, were able to provide fairly well for themselves. At times these officers entered into some lark with the abandon of college boys. They especially enjoyed guying their guards when provoked to it.

While in general the officers in charge of the prisoners at Liggon's Tobacco House were courteous in their relations to the captives, there was one, Emack by name, who was boastful and arrogant. As he asserted that he had killed three Union brigadiers with his own hands, he was known by the officers as "Yankee Killer," and as "Baltimore Plug Ugly" by the privates. It was customary to order the lights out at nine o'clock, and this order was usually courteously given and cheerfully obeyed. One night, Emack, in his overbearing way, gave the command, and one light at which some officers were seated was not attended to as promptly

as it might have been. Emack soon bawled out his order a second time, adding an oath. Still he was not obeyed. He then ordered one of his own subordinates, a raw recruit from the mountain district, to put out the gas. Now this man was not used to gas and did not know how to go to work. Emack told him to turn it off. On one of the two arms of the gas-fixture a tobacco-pipe had been fixed for aid in cooking. One of the prisoners pointed to this, and the green soldier began turning it round to the great amusement of those confined in the room. Finally Emack himself came forward and with a string of oaths told the prisoners to turn the gas off. No notice was taken of him. He turned it off himself, and started to go back in the dark, down the long room. One of the benches from the side was thrust across his path without noise. He tumbled over it and lay sprawling on the floor. With muttered curses he rose and started once more. Some one began to whistle Yankee Doodle in time to his step. He stopped; the whistling stopped. He started again; the whistling began. At last, in despair, he went forward to the music. When he reached the guard-room, the prisoners could hear his cursing, and responded by Union songs. The next day their special privileges were cut off. Taken as a whole the life of these officers must have had some redeeming features, notwithstanding the shadow of anxiety that hung over them and the irksomeness of days devoid of duties.

There were two of the officers, however, who enjoyed their comparative comfort but a short time. General John H. Winder, commanding the Department of Richmond, visited the prison with his staff, November 10. He came to execute an order from the Confederate War Department, which demanded that fourteen prisoners should be selected as hostages for Smith of the Savannah privateer, condemned to death, and for thirteen other prisoners of war, captured at sea and held for trial as pirates. These fourteen men were to be treated in the same manner as the so-called pirates

were treated at the North. In this number as finally completed November 12, were Captains George W. Rockwood and Henry Bowman. They bade farewell to their comrades November 14. Seven of these prisoners were confined in one cell in the Richmond Jail. This was very dimly lighted. They were furnished the usual jail rations, bacon and corn-bread. The jailer, a coarse ruffian, read their private letters before delivering them. The felons, white and black, confined in the same jail, filled the building with a most nauseating stench. The yard was used for whipping negroes, and their yells of agony were frequently heard. Seven of their fellow-officers, who had been left behind at Liggon's, sent a petition to the Confederate War Department, begging that they might be allowed to go to the jail as substitutes for those who were there confined, and who were suffering from increasing ill-health. Among those thus petitioning were Lieutenants I. Harris Hooper and J. Evarts Greene. The petition was not granted. The following letter was sent by Captain Bowman to Adjutant-General Schouler:

"RICHMOND, VA., Nov. 27, 1861.

"My Dear General: An opportunity having been afforded of sending letters, I shall avail myself of writing to you. I presume you have been apprised of our situation. We are all (seven of us) confined in one cell, size eleven by seventeen feet. Our mess is made up of Colonels Cogswell and Wood of New York, Colonel Lee and Major Revere of the Massachusetts Twentieth, Captain Keffer of Philadelphia, and Captain Rockwood and myself of the Fifteenth Massachusetts Regiment. We were transferred from the tobacco warehouse, where we had been confined since the battle of Leesburg, a fortnight ago. Standing as we do for these privateersmen, we are treated the same as prisoners charged with crime. What will be the result of all this, I do not know. I trust all will be well; but,

' If we are marked to die, we are enough
To do our country loss; and if to live,
The fewer men, the greater share of honor.'

"I am fully confident that our good people will do all within their power, and in so believing, I shall patiently await the issue.....

"HENRY BOWMAN,

"Capt. Co. C, Fifteenth Reg't."

January 5, these prisoners were allowed to leave the jail and return to their old quarters. There had just been a great excitement at Liggon's, because the building was on fire. An immense crowd had gathered, because a report had spread over the city that "the Yankees had set fire to their prison and were trying to escape." The fire had been extinguished. "At this moment," writes one of the prisoners, we were startled by three loud cheers, given with a will by the privates in an adjacent warehouse. We saw the hostages approaching the prison. In a few moments they entered. Can we ever forget the scene that ensued? It cannot be described. It's hearty gladness would have repaid, almost, for a lifetime of suffering." The news of the release of the privateersmen in the North soon gave assurance that the danger of retaliation was over.

We have the statement of one of the prisoners in Richmond that when he was sick nothing was done for him, that the rebels had no medicine except turpentine, of which they gave two doses a day in fever cases. When the sick were sent to the hospitals, however, they received much better care than in the regular prisons. The food was of good quality and well cooked. Coffee, tea and sometimes molasses and milk were added to the bread, beef and soup. Camp cots were provided, eighty to a room. The buildings were kept in good order, as the attendants were prisoners of war. There were twelve nurses, eight in the day time and four at night for one hundred and sixty patients. There was only one physician for this number, but two Federal surgeons were for a time allowed to help him. The body vermin brought from the prisons gave most serious trouble in the hospitals. Typhoid fever was the prevalent disease and

there were many fatal cases. Corporal Charles A. Lamb of Company A died in December; Thomas N. Woodward of Company C, November 25; Sergeant Charles W. Upham of Company D, December 14; Lyman Phipps of Company E, November 12; R. A. Ellis of Company G, December 25; William F. Converse of Company I, date unknown.

It must be remembered, too, that some of the wounded were kept back in the hospital at Leesburg. Among these was Ai D. Osborne of Company B. He was shot through the knee at Ball's Bluff. He and his comrade, Thomas P. Taylor, were carried to Leesburg together. As he was about to be removed from the ambulance he stopped the attendant and said: "Take Taylor out first; he is wounded worse than I am." Osborne's leg was amputated close to the body. Taylor said to him, "I am sorry for you." He replied, "Yes, I know you are very sorry, Tom, but what will poor mother say?" After a moment of thought he added: "Let us be men and call it a misfortune." He died December 1, 1861, and was buried at Leesburg. David J. Messenger, Company H, and Charles D. Monroe of Company B, also died there under amputation. A considerable number of the regiment remained in Leesburg as late as December, 1861.

Eleven of the members of the Fifteenth Regiment confined in the hospital at Richmond were released on parole in January, 1862. Some of these were carried home on beds. These paroled men reached Worcester County January 24. Captain John M. Studley of Company D writes: "Captain Clark S. Simonds, Company B, Lieutenant I. Harris Hooper, Company K, and myself were exchanged February 18, 1862, and left Richmond early in the forenoon of the 19th on a flag-of-truce boat. We met the United States boat the next day, and prisoners of war were transferred. I was exchanged for a Captain Luke of North Carolina. There was quite a large number of privates in the party, both of the Fifteenth and Twentieth Massachusetts Regiments, as well as some others. All, I suppose, were regularly exchanged." Most of

this portion of the prisoners rejoined the regiment before the beginning of the Peninsular campaign. As the morning reports for February and March are lost, and some of the company books cannot be found, the number who then returned from missing in action cannot be given.

On the 22d of February, all the members of the Fifteenth who were left in Richmond heard with unbounded joy that an order had been issued paroling all the Federal prisoners then in that city. At ten o'clock the clerk of the prison where the officers were confined appeared with a written parole, which was signed by the officers and afterwards by the men. This parole read: "We, the undersigned, in the service of the United States, prisoners of war, pledge our word of honor that we will not, by arms, information, or otherwise, during the existence of hostilities between the United States and the Confederate States of America, aid or abet the enemies of the said Confederate States or any of them in any form or manner until released or exchanged. Given in Richmond this 22d day of February, 1862."

As Captain J. Evarts Greene relates: "During the day a joyous excitement pervaded the prisons and every room was a scene of cheerful confusion. As all the prisoners had an ample, many of them a superabundant supply of clothing, much that they did not care to take away was thrown from the windows and eagerly scrambled for by the crowd, chiefly negroes, which had gathered in the street. The day, February 22, was that of the inauguration of Jefferson Davis as the president of the Confederate States, and it may be presumed that most of the people who were strongly attached to the Confederacy were occupied with the speech-making and other demonstrations attendant upon that function. However that may be, when the guards were withdrawn from the prison doors and the prisoners marched out, they found the streets lined on both sides with a continuous crowd of people, white and black, who cheered them lustily, and as the column marched in well ordered ranks down the street, sing-

ing the familiar patriotic songs, every song was answered with applause, apparently by the unanimous voice of that great concourse of southern people, whose show of enthusiasm and loyalty could scarcely have been exceeded, even in Worcester."

These prisoners went by boat to Newport News and reached Fortress Monroe February 23, after four months of captivity. Before the end of the month about seventy of them had returned to Worcester County where they were joyfully welcomed by their friends.

There had been a considerable number of prisoners transferred to Salisbury, North Carolina, in December. Their story is best told in the words of John H. Prichard, one of the number:

"On the 22d of December, an order was issued from the C. S. A. War Department to transfer the prisoners taken at Bull Run and Manassas, and the citizens under arrest, to Salisbury, North Carolina. After they had transferred the above, there was accommodation for about one hundred and seventy-five more men at Salisbury, and there being nearly that number on the floor where I was confined, we were sent on the 24th of December, to fill up the desired complement. Of the Fitchburg company there were but three members able to go, out of four in that room—George S. Gilchrist, Maynard of Winchendon, and myself. J. L. Moody, being very sick, was left behind. We bade farewell to our comrades, and took the cars under guard of a company of Georgia soldiers on return to their state. At Petersburg, we changed cars for Raleigh, where we arrived on Christmas morning. This day being a holiday, and the special train not running, we remained at Raleigh until the next day. Early the next morning we started for Salisbury, where, after a long and tiresome ride, we arrived at about seven P. M. We were received by a deputation of the guard and marched to the garrison, an enclosure of about thirteen acres, containing a large cotton factory and other buildings fitted up as a

prison. There were about one hundred prisoners already in confinement there, taken in the early part of the war, from the steamship *Union*, wrecked on Bogue Island, and from three or four prizes taken by the enemy's privateers. These, our fellow prisoners, furnished us with some supper and gave us a welcome. There were no facilities for cooking the food for so many, and it was nearly midnight before we were all served. The next day, and in fact for several days, we were obliged to cook rations for two hundred men, in a common range, with not nearly enough boilers or other utensils. After a few days a second cooking range was procured, and we got along better, but even then we had to cook day and night.

"After enduring this as long as possible, our numbers augmenting every day by the accession of prisoners, we took hold ourselves and built ovens, and set nine large kettles of twenty or thirty gallons each, so that we could have raised bread, and save much labor, we having had nothing but biscuit, resembling a solid compound of putty and lead, previously. The kitchen was built on at the back of the factory, and connected with the various floors by a dumb waiter. The building was of four stories, we occupying the third until the prisoners sent to New Orleans and Tuscaloosa returned on their way home as far as Salisbury, when we were transferred to the fourth story, which was much the pleasantest and healthiest. We were very closely confined from the first, and until the surgeons had repeatedly represented to the authorities that we should all die of scurvy and other diseases if not allowed more exercise and air, we were not allowed to remain in the yard over five minutes at a time. We did finally obtain from these representations the use of about five or six acres of ground, including a grove of huge oak trees, for a playground. After a few weeks fresh provisions gave out, and all the meat issued was the rank, oily, smoked bacon and the soup from the same, thickened with rice and corn-meal, this being our unvarying food, and

having but one way of cooking, viz: boiling. Nearly every one of our number was made sick with jaundice and scurvy.

"The Confederate surgeon was a well-meaning man, but rather ignorant and conceited. In fact, we had to do our own doctoring as a general thing, according to our own judgment. Our mortality at Salisbury was about one-fifth that of the secesh who guarded us—out of fifteen hundred prisoners, on an average of three months, nine died; out of five hundred guards, average of three months, seventeen died, showing conclusively that in spite of confinement, bad food, and want of fresh air and exercise, "Yankees" can stand the climate and hardships of the South better than the Southerners themselves.

"The weary months dragged on, and finally an order came for our release, and we were sent off in squads of two or three hundred at a time, in alphabetical order, by way of Raleigh and Goldsboro', to Tarboro' on the Tar river. From here we proceeded down the Tar river in flat-boats, towed by a little tug-boat, the Col. Hill, to Washington, N. C., where we were received by General Burnside. When the prisoners saw the old United States flag three rousing cheers burst forth, and the happiest day of our lives was when we stepped on board the U. S. boat and felt we were FREE. General Burnside shook hands with each of us, and welcomed us back, and cheer after cheer from the boys on the shore rang out on the air, welcoming us back to life and liberty. From Washington we went by boat to Newbern, where we remained until all the prisoners arrived, when we left for Hatteras Inlet, and there taking an ocean steamer we came to Governor's Island." The paroled men left Salisbury May 22 and arrived home about June 1.

It was a long time before some of the paroled prisoners were exchanged, and this gave rise to considerable trouble, especially in respect to the officers. Although this matter belongs to a later date in our history, yet unity of subject requires that it should be treated here. As month after

month passed by and the regiment suffered from lack of officers, it was but natural that a demand should have been made for the required number to be furnished. It was desired by the regiment that the old officers should return, if possible, but if they could not secure an exchange, it was felt that they should resign in order that their places might be filled. Captain Henry Bowman of Company C resigned August 6. He became colonel of the Thirty-sixth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers. He commanded a brigade in Mississippi in the summer of 1863. From February, 1864, to the end of the war, he served as assistant quartermaster United States volunteers.

Captains Rockwood and Greene and Lieutenant Vassall were anxious for exchange and return to active service, and used every available means to bring about that end. As they did not succeed, Captain J. E. Greene resigned. He had been made captain January 17, 1862, while in prison. After he retired from the army he was for many years, as the editor of the Worcester Spy, at the head of the press of the county. He is at the present time postmaster of Worcester. Second-Lieutenant Bernard B. Vassall was promoted to first-lieutenant October 31, 1862, but refused commission. He was later connected with the postal service of the United States, then was for a time in the office of the Board of Public Charities in Boston, and then engaged in private business. Captain Rockwood rejoined the Fifteenth January 10, 1863, but resigned January 26, 1863, for reasons connected with his absence from the regiment. He served at a later date in the Fourth Heavy Artillery. Thus, by the battle of Ball's Bluff the regiment lost six of its line officers, all men who gave promise of noble service.

July 14, 1862, the following notice appeared in the Worcester Spy: "Paroled prisoners belonging to the Fifteenth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers are hereby notified that official orders have been promulgated from the war department, ordering them to report immediately at Annapolis

Md." The Salisbury prisoners encamped at Fort Ellsworth. Up to that time these paroled prisoners had been at home. As the regiment had been allowed to fill up its ranks without regard to them, some had given up all expectation of returning to service and had entered upon their usual vocations. When they obeyed the order and went to Annapolis, they found no arrangements had been made for them. In the course of a week, however, the men of the Fifteenth were organized under their officers who were with them. Captain Rockwood had charge of the prisoners from New England as a whole, Captain Greene of the prisoners from the Fifteenth. No duty was required of the men except to answer roll-call three times a day. With idleness came disorder and turmoil. The division under Rockwood was the only part of the camp in which there was any semblance of discipline. Most of these paroled prisoners remained until December, 1862. During that month the Fifteenth gained fifty-nine from missing in action. Thirty-one others came straggling in from hospitals or elsewhere during the four succeeding months, and it was not until the Spring of 1863 that the balance sheet for the losses at Ball's Bluff could be made complete.

CHAPTER V.

AT POOLESVILLE.—IN THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY.

OCTOBER 21, 1861 — MARCH 23, 1862.

The month which followed the battle of Ball's Bluff was a period of hard work for the survivors of that contest. The wounded demanded care. The knapsacks of the missing had to be examined and the property of the government accounted for. The duties of the absent devolved upon those who were present. The lack of officers, both commissioned and non-commissioned, was most seriously felt. Lance sergeants and corporals were appointed to fill vacancies, but the few line officers on duty were obliged to do, as far as it was possible, the work of the whole number. It was a period of much discussion concerning the events and conduct of the battle. Each one had his own story to tell, his own inquiries to make. It was clearly realized that the sacrifice had been needless and that some one had blundered. Was it General McClellan? Was it General Stone? Was it Colonel Baker? Was it Colonel Cogswell? It was a period of many visitors from the North, who came to find out the condition of the men of the different companies, in order that they might report to their friends at home. Many and long were the letters written and messages sent by those who had escaped from the battle. It was a period of great inconvenience and sometimes of considerable suffering from the loss of personal effects, especially of clothing. E. J. Russell writes: "Every plate, cup, knife and fork which the boys took with them was lost, and the

quartermaster has been unable to get them any more. Blankets are short, also. While I am writing it rains, and the wind blows from the northeast like a hurricane, and some of the tents have blown down. Such times as this make me a little homesick—a cold rain and no fire. Some of the folks who stay at home, when they ought to be at the front, would think it rather tough to get up in the morning when it rains in torrents, cold, northeast wind, mud six inches deep, impossible to make a fire outdoors, no hot coffee or tea, hard bread, teeth worn down to the gums, overcoat wet, everybody cross, perhaps the order comes to turn out for some inspection, get your gun wet, take three hours to clean it up, go on guard, no sleep for twenty-four hours. See what it is to serve your country." An appeal from Colonel Devens for relief was promptly answered by the various towns of Worcester County, and through boxes sent from home in addition to the stores the government provided, by the middle of November the men had "everything they needed."

A letter of Lieutenant Derby's gives us an account of Thanksgiving Day (November 21) in camp: "The past week, although undisturbed by any warlike movement, has been one of considerable animation in 'Camp Foster.' On Monday evening Colonel Devens returned from a fortnight's furlough spent in Washington and Massachusetts. The gratified eagerness with which the word was passed that 'the Colonel had got back,' even without his own confession, proves that this is in reality his home. One of the fruits of his labors while absent is before us already—four hundred good rifles, to take the place of our miserable smooth-bores.

"Tuesday evening brought another welcome arrival, the paymaster, with brass-bound chests, little but weighty. A number of the wounded, who had been waiting for their two months' wages, were immediately paid off, and next morning set out, a happy party, for their homes in Massachusetts. Their furloughs range from two to six weeks; and as the

four wagon loads rattled off toward Adamstown, many a man regretted that he too did not get a bullet, so that he could spend Thanksgiving at the homestead. But we could not get along without Thanksgiving in some shape; and considering our circumstances, the celebration came very nearly up to the Puritan standard. Colonel Devens manifested his fatherly interest in the happiness of his men by presenting them fifty dollars toward buying a good dinner, and the all-important roast turkey was not wanting. There was one feature of the day that I take especial pride in mentioning, as indicating the material of which the regiment is composed. It is that not a man was intoxicated during the whole day. What other regiment of eight hundred men, with pockets full of money, and plenty of whiskey within reach, can boast of so much self-respect and regard for their officers as not to yield in a single instance? You can depend on such men everywhere. We have enjoyed another week of Indian summer, which ended last night, with heavy rain."

E. J. Russell, who was on picket duty Thanksgiving day—for the picket line along the Potomac had been renewed shortly after the battle—wrote: "We are quartered in a barn without any roof, in which we have a fire and are allowed to cook our own tea and coffee, and so long as it is fair weather we are all right. Some are building thatched shanties to keep off the rain. To-day is fair and tolerably warm, so we are going to have a Thanksgiving in earnest. Just this minute they have shot two pigs. We are going to have roast pig for dinner and they are getting up a hard-bread plum pudding."

There were many devices for keeping warm as the weather grew colder. W. J. Coulter reported: "Some of the boys have bought small stoves for their tents, while others have dug fireplaces. These fireplaces are queer contrivances. A square hole is dug near the center of the tent, with a trench leading to the back side which is covered over with flat stones. Over the outer end of the trench two or three bar-

rels are placed, one on top of the other, in which dirt is packed, leaving a small hole in the center about the size of a stovepipe for the smoke to escape. With the help of these fireplaces we manage to keep ourselves quite comfortable." An order, given December 5, that commanding officers should be made personally responsible for the destruction of rails by their respective commands, gives a hint of the source of some of the fuel used. On account of the crude arrangements for chimneys, several of the tents were burned.

The men were not lacking entirely in amusement. In one of the tents flying squirrels were kept; in another an owl. One tells of a 'possum hunt.' Cards were not unknown. Practical jokes and all kinds of "sells" were enjoyed. The universal darkey was the source of unlimited fun. The coming of the mail never failed to awake interest. Occasionally there were military spectacles. December 11, for instance, there was a drill of about five thousand cavalry and artillery in front of the lines of the Fifteenth. Above all, there was the good comradeship. There were doubtless many who, laying aside all question of patriotism, would have been unwilling to change back to the old dull life at their work-bench or on the farm.

During the last week in November, as already noticed in a letter of Lieutenant Derby's, new Springfield rifled muskets were received for the regiment, and four hundred and sixty smooth-bores were sent back to the master of ordnance. This was a source of great delight to the soldiers, for the arms of many of them were lying at the bottom of the Potomac, and those who had smooth-bore muskets looked upon these as one cause of the defeat at Ball's Bluff, and did not care to risk themselves with them longer. These rifles were given out December 5. The men found it much easier to drill with them.

Early in December, under command of Major Kimball, forty-five men were detailed from the regiment for the purpose of building a small fort or block-house capable of

mounting at least three guns, which was to be the headquarters of the pickets along the river. Lieutenant Wood of Company A had direct charge of the detail. Stables, too, were built at the camp for the horses, and a guard-house was constructed. December 8, new Sibley tents were put up for the soldiers; each of these tents had a sheet-iron stove. A bake-house was also built, and the men had fresh bread of an excellent quality regularly for the first time since leaving Worcester.

December 13, orders were received to pack knapsacks and get everything ready to march, but nothing came of it. The fact that the Fifteenth at this time had only three hundred and fifty fighting men, while the other regiments were comparatively full, made it look "insignificant" at brigade drill and led the boys to think "it would be put on reserve" in case of a fight. At this time many of the letters speak of a balloon, which was used for reconnoitering. On Christmas Colonel Devens presented each command with ten dollars to be spent in providing a company dinner. Oysters and mince pies were the luxuries of the day.

W. J. Coulter wrote of January 11, 1862: "The weather has been quite changeable of late; one night it freezes, the next snows, the next night rains, and the next day the mud will be so plentiful that it makes it impossible for us to step outside of our tents without sinking into the yellow substance ankle deep. At the present time the mud is so deep that it is an utter impossibility to do anything in the way of drilling. Guard duty is attended to and that is about all. I accosted a citizen of Poolesville the other day, saying: 'Rather bad travelling.' 'Not very,' said he; 'if you call this bad I don't know what you will call the travelling about next March. You will see some mud then, I reckon.'"

January 24 a letter of Richard Derby's says: "We are in daily expectation of marching orders; but how it will be possible to move, with the face of the country in its present condition, I cannot imagine. But the 'natives' assure us

there will be no improvement till late in the spring. We've had nothing but storm for nearly a week. To-night, for variety, we have sleet; and the wind drives it like pins and needles. The poor fellows on guard have a hard time of it; but that is a part of their duty as much as fighting is.

"No troops, either Union or rebel, have occupied Harrison's Island since the second day after the fight at Ball's Bluff; when Captain Philbrick, with a small party, tried to recover some tools left there, the rebel cavalry forded the Virginia branch and would have captured him if he hadn't retreated at 'double-quick.' "

Ever since the battle of Ball's Bluff there had been much discussion in the northern newspapers and among politicians and the soldiers, in regard to the responsibility of General Stone for that disaster. Assistant Surgeon Haven defends General Stone most earnestly. "He is one of the ablest generals in the service." "I cannot restrain my indignation at the abominable manner in which the people at home are treating General Stone. If ever there was a gentleman misrepresented, maligned and abominably lied about, it is he." Lieutenant Derby speaks in his favor no less vigorously, especially in his relation to the anti-slavery question. There seemed, however, to be at least a spirit of mistrust among some of the soldiers when General Stone was arrested, February 9, 1862. One of them writes: "The arrest of General Stone created considerable excitement in the camp, though the general expression is, 'served him right.'" Chaplain Scandlin, who knew him much better, in a letter to General Stone says: "We know not how to unravel the dark mystery of your present position, but guided by your strict military discipline, we yield to the authority of our superiors, praying, however, that a speedy trial may be granted, your innocence established beyond question and you permitted to participate in the final triumph for which you have so ardently yearned and so diligently toiled." The investigation showed that no charge against him for disloyalty or lack of endeavor to do his whole duty could be sustained.

Chaplain Scandlin's diary contains the following entries: "February 21. Brigadier-General Sedgwick took command day before yesterday, and to-day the question of brigades has been settled. General Gorman gets us. The colonel sent ten dollars to each company for to-morrow's dinner.

"February 22. Had to dinner, General Sedgwick; Captain Sedgwick, assistant adjutant-general; Lieutenant Beaumont, aid; and Colonel Tompkins. After they departed we had the officers of the line to supper.

"February 23. Sergeant Cook of Company C, one of our prisoners from Richmond, arrived in camp just now. He met Captains Simonds and Studley in Washington and about seven each from all the companies."

As early as October 27, in a letter to Hon. A. H. Bullock, Colonel Devens said: "The brave companions whom we have lost cannot be restored to us, but their number may. Will not the towns of the county of Worcester, from which these companies come, see to it that each company is recruited again to its maximum standard, with vigorous and resolute young men from its own town, or its immediate vicinity, and not leave us to be filled from recruiting offices of cities." Two weeks after the battle, Colonel Devens obtained a fortnight's furlough for the special purpose of returning to Massachusetts to look after the interests of the regiment, and above all to start recruiting for it.

November 18, 1861, an appeal was made by prominent citizens of Worcester for recruits for the Fifteenth Regiment:

"To the People of Worcester County:

"The Fifteenth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers, commanded by Colonel Devens, requires thirty-five men in each company—in all three hundred and fifty—to fill its present deficiency. . . . This regiment appeals to the County of Worcester by the historic sanction of its great namesake—the Massachusetts Fifteenth of the Continental Line—whose valor it has reproduced, whose glory it has emulated, whose name it has honored. . . . The Fifteenth Regiment is

of our own bone and sinew; it went forth endeared to us by the relation of local citizenship and by the ties of kindred. The ranks of the regiment must be filled, and its unity maintained for the county to which it belongs."

Lieutenant Jorgensen was detailed as recruiting officer in Worcester. Throughout the county the Thanksgiving services were of a patriotic nature tending to encourage enlisting. Chaplain Scandlin set out for the county November 20, to help in recruiting. He spoke at a large war meeting in Worcester, December 3. Later he spoke at various other places in the county. He gave the history of the Fifteenth; he told of its noble record at Ball's Bluff; he eulogized the officers of the regiment and those under whom it served. He showed the character of the rank and file of the army. He urged the cause for which they fought. Then he asked for more men to fill the places of those who had fallen or were disabled or in captivity. He called upon the young men to take their lives in their hands and rally not only to the defense of their country, to the preservation of their rights and liberties which we all hold so dear, but to avenge the blood of the slaughtered soldiers and to break the prison doors of those in confinement. Should the Fifteenth be compelled to meet the enemy with weakened ranks while so many remained at home? "I come," he said, "for men to fill the place of our honored dead and captive comrades. As I come to turn your thoughts to these duties, my mind is filled with sad recollections, but they are wreathed about with glorious emotions. Some laid to sleep, some maimed in your midst, others captive in the hands of our enemies. It is because of these that I speak, that the object for which they bore so much may be completed. Will you leave your own, captive, or will you help to break their bonds?"

The most prominent citizens in these different communities were appointed on recruiting committees, and no effort was spared to raise the required number of men. But the recruits came in rather slowly. The folks at home were for

the first time beginning to understand the stern realities of war. There was no fear of a draft, as at a later time, to spur on recruiting, and they had not settled into that spirit of unyielding determination which came later. Men were no longer inclined to enlist impulsively. Both the ability and the loyalty of General Stone were mistrusted, and men were unwilling to place their lives in the hands of such a leader as many believed him to be. It is possible that there was a superstitious feeling with some that the Fifteenth was an unlucky regiment. It may be that some feared the ridicule which veteran soldiers might deal out to raw recruits. The strongest reason of all was perhaps to be found in the feeling that the probability of office and promotion was greater for recruits in new companies and regiments than in old ones. All these causes, and perhaps others, kept men from enlisting as rapidly as had been hoped. Small bounties began to be offered by towns and individuals at this time. Company I was fortunate in getting some nineteen recruits from the western part of Massachusetts soon after Ball's Bluff. Sixty-five recruits, the first fruits of the effort, started from Worcester December 5. Before the first of January ninety-one recruits had been received by the regiment, and according to the Individual Record, a hundred enrolled, and one hundred and twenty-four more by April. These two hundred and twenty-four men came for the most part from Worcester County. Lieutenant-Colonel George H. Ward, as soon as his wound would allow, began recruiting troops at Worcester, having been detailed for this duty.

The following advertisement for recruits appeared in the Worcester Spy:

"THE FIFTEENTH.

"The recruiting office of the Fifteenth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers, now armed with Springfield Rifles, is opened at the Lincoln House Block, entrance on Maple Street, where all desirous of enlisting are requested to apply at once.

"YOUNG MEN,

Let not a regiment of your own county, publicly commended on the field of battle by the brave and unfortunate Colonel Baker, and mentioned first in the General Order of the Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the Potomac wherein all the regiment engaged at the battle of Ball's Bluff are complimented, suffer for the want of recruits.

"Pay and rations begin at once. Bounty of One Hundred Dollars.

"GEORGE H. WARD,

"Lieut.-Col. Fifteenth Regt., M. V., Recruiting Officer."

Colonel Ward remained in Worcester just a year before returning to the regiment. Sergeant A. H. Shumway, Company E, Sergeant G. O. Shore, Company K, Corporal Henry A. Collar, Company H, Private R. T. Finney, Company D, all of whom, either on account of wounds or ill health, were unable to be in the field, had been detailed for six months for the same purpose.

The recruits were gladly welcomed by the men in camp. The relief from extra guard duty which they brought was especially acceptable. W. J. Coulter wrote: "If you had asked one of the veterans how he liked the appearance of the recruits, his reply would have been, 'bully.'" January 11, he wrote: "The recruits are working in admirably. The first squad which came out have been placed in the ranks and the second squad will be, in two or three weeks. The effect six months in camp has had on us is remarkable. There are four recruits in the same tent with me, all large, powerful men, used to out-door labors, and judging from their looks, one would think they could stand any kind of weather. When the tent is sufficiently warm for the old members in it, the recruits will shiver and shake as though they had an attack of the fever and ague....While the old members go out to drill with nothing but a thin blouse covering their shoulders, the recruits appear with their overcoats. There is nothing like getting used to a thing."

It is difficult to overestimate the change which the drill of the autumn and winter had made in the army of the Potomac. Raw recruits had developed into well-seasoned, well-disciplined soldiers, thoroughly prepared for the mighty struggle upon which they were about to enter. Meanwhile the organization of the army had been improved in a remarkable degree. The artillery and engineer departments were practically created by McClellan. When he entered upon his command he found nine weak batteries with thirty guns; in March, 1862, he had ninety-two batteries with five hundred and twenty guns. The engineer department was organized with no less vigor, and the capital was defended by a system of fortifications that the enemy felt were impregnable. The commissary and quartermaster departments were also perfected. The grand Army of the Potomac, one hundred thousand strong, a mighty engine of war, was now ready to move against the enemy. Henceforth we must always keep in mind the fact that the Fifteenth was only one of many members of this vast organization. Up to this time the regiment had been somewhat isolated, and its individuality had been distinct, but from this point on, even to the keenest eye, it will sometimes become lost in the grand whole, so that it will be impossible to exactly measure the service which it rendered.

While we must give McClellan credit for his wonderful power of organization, yet we cannot ignore the fact that he had already lost in no inconsiderable degree the confidence of the people at the North and of the administration at Washington, because he had allowed six months to pass by without any serious movement against the enemy. In February, the lines held practically the same positions they had assumed after McDowell's defeat at Manassas Junction. The North had poured forth its treasure, had poured forth its men, but nothing had been apparently accomplished. The cry, "On to Richmond" which, uttered with the childish enthusiasm of ignorance, had forced McDowell to his defeat,

hushed for a time by that bitter experience, had been gradually growing in volume as the uneventful months passed by. This cry no longer came from unthinking zeal, but it was the universal utterance of a nation animated by an unyielding purpose. On account of the lack of confidence arising from his long-continued failure to advance, McClellan was obliged to enter upon this movement under many disadvantageous conditions, which will be evident as the narrative proceeds.

The men of the Fifteenth, like the people of the North as a whole, had been very impatient for an advance. The news of the victories of Burnside, in which their former neighbors of the Twenty-first and Twenty-fifth Massachusetts Volunteers participated, made them feel that they were lying idle while others were gathering laurels. The news of the fall of Fort Donelson so delighted the men that "their feelings were utterly uncontrollable." When General Gorman intimated that they might soon receive still better news (an order for their own advance), he was "wildly cheered." At last, as February drew to a close, the desire of the men was gratified and a movement began all along the line.

As a preliminary to the grand campaign, a successful attempt was made in the beginning of 1862 to reopen the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. The first operations were conducted by General Lander from the west. In the latter part of February, the forces under Banks and Sedgwick below Harper's Ferry were set in motion. The Fifteenth was in General Sedgwick's division and in the brigade of General Gorman, with the First Minnesota and the Thirty-fourth and Eighty-second New York. Assistant Surgeon Haven's diary states: "On Monday, February 24, 1862, a tremendous gale of wind sprang up which lasted the rest of the day and the night. At least half of our tents were blown down, and at night it grew very cold. Altogether it was the most uncomfortable day and night that we have had this winter. In the midst of it we received orders to pack up and be ready

to march Tuesday morning. With two days' cooked rations and four days' uncooked, we started, leaving our tents and most of our baggage behind."

One of the soldiers of Company G wrote: "We left Poolesville the 25th of February, 1862, about ten A. M., not knowing our destination. We marched thirteen miles, with occasional halts, till dark, when we halted for the night near the banks of the Monocacy River at the base of a high mountain. We slept on the ground with our blankets for covering, as we could not take our tents at the time we left. Next morning the drums called us into line long before day-break. We marched two hours, bringing us to Adamstown. Some of the boys fell from exhaustion on the long march and others were obliged to throw away some of their baggage.....I weighed myself before starting, with all my equipments, and weighed one hundred and ninety-two pounds; and without them I weighed one hundred and thirty-nine and one-half pounds. Just try it, and travel off two miles or more without stopping; perhaps you would enjoy it.....After some little delay at Adamstown in loading baggage, etc., we took the cars for Harper's Ferry, passing through Point of Rocks, Berlin and other places.....We crossed to Harper's Ferry on a pontoon bridge which was thrown across near the place where the rebels burned the bridge.....We quartered in a store over night. The rebels have made sad havoc in this place. But few houses are left.....Generals McClellan, Banks and others are here. Their quarters are opposite the store where our company stops. We cheered our brave commander as he passed, which he acknowledged with a smile. The scenery here is beautiful. The view from some of those grand high bluffs is most magnificent. Troops have been crossing the river yesterday and today."

The regiment left Harper's Ferry on the morning of March 2, at seven, leaving Company B as a guard at the pontoon bridge and Captain Philbrick as provost marshal of the

town. The regiment encamped about two miles out on Camp Hill, Bolivar Heights, General Gorman's brigade on the right of the road and General Burns' on the left.

On the morning of the 3d, Company G was detailed to go to Hallstown to protect private property, for the soldiers, as they came into a district with southern sympathies, had begun to "borrow" sheep, poultry and hogs, rather more than the government thought desirable.

March 7, the brigade left Camp Bolivar at eight A. M., the First Minnesota leading, the Fifteenth Massachusetts next, then the Thirty-fourth New York, followed by Rickett's Battery. At half-past ten A. M. it had arrived within about three-fourths of a mile of Charlestown. General Gorman said that the Fifteenth was one of the best marching regiments he had ever seen. Tents were pitched on the edge of a piece of woods with a beautiful view of the valley of the Shenandoah.

On the 10th, at three o'clock in the morning, orders were received to pack up and march at six. This march began in a pouring rain. Assistant-Surgeon Haven tells us: "As we approached Berryville (also called Battletown) a few shells were thrown at the rebel cavalry, who retreated before us within plain sight. The town was then entered and the secession flag changed for the Union. Our regiment bivouacked that night on an eminence, bare and exposed to the wind and rain, in support of two pieces of artillery commanding the Winchester road. Our picket and cavalry scouts were thrown out and some slight skirmishing took place. In the morning our cavalry went out and charged upon the rebel cavalry, taking some prisoners, wounding a few, and losing one man who was taken prisoner. One of the rebel cavalry was shot through the chest and could not be brought in. I rode out to him and took out the bullet and got him into town, where he now lies in a building used by the rebels as a hospital. Last night our tents came and also those of Burns' Brigade. We pitched our camp on the grounds of an elegant mansion called

"Fairmount," and our headquarters are in the house itself and the regiment is more comfortably fixed than ever before. The country all around here is dotted with splendid residences and the scenery is equally fine."

Here at Berryville some of our boys, especially from the First Minnesota, took possession of the printing office of "The Conservator," a local paper. The next morning an edition was issued in which the boastings of the secessionists were published alongside the statement of the facts concerning their retreat and witticisms at their expense. Some of the members of the Fifteenth have kept copies of this paper until the present time.

Very early on the morning of the 13th, the boys set out for Winchester, which was at a distance of ten and a half miles. About one o'clock P. M. they halted in a wood within less than two miles of the town. In about half an hour they were ordered to return to Berryville, where they arrived, tired, hungry and footsore at seven P. M. Here they learned that orders had been received to return to Bolivar. On Friday, the 14th, the march was made as far as Charlestown, and tents were pitched about a mile beyond. The next morning, in the midst of a hard rain, tents were struck. Then came a long period of waiting for the other regiments to pass by, as it was the duty of the Fifteenth on that day to bring up the rear of the column. At last Bolivar was reached, and the regiment encamped on its old ground again. By the 19th, the bridge at Harper's Ferry had been repaired so that cars could go between that place and Winchester. Thus the object of the movement had been accomplished and the Baltimore & Ohio railroad opened.

On the 22d, the regiment marched to Sandy Hook and took cars for Washington, where it arrived a little before three A. M. Until the next afternoon the regiment was quartered at different lodging places. Then it moved to an open spot about half a mile northeast of the capitol. For two days more it remained in the city, anxiously waiting for orders to go no one knew whither.

Let us sum up, before entering upon the Peninsular campaign, the changes that had taken place in the Fifteenth Regiment since its departure from Worcester. The name of Lieutenant-Colonel George H. Ward was still upon the rolls of the regiment, but his inspiring presence had been lacking since Ball's Bluff. The adjutant, First-Lieutenant George A. Hicks, was honorably discharged November 15, 1861. He had brought to the Fifteenth an experience gained from three months' service in the Third Battalion Riflemen. The ability which he displayed as adjutant of the Fifteenth fully justified the confidence which Colonel Devens reposed in him, and won for him well-deserved promotion. He became a captain and assistant adjutant-general of United States Volunteers November 16, 1861. He received a brevet of major of United States Volunteers July 30, 1864. He was succeeded as adjutant, November 27, 1861, by First-Lieutenant George W. Baldwin. Quartermaster Church Howe became ordnance officer to General Stone's division, January 21, 1862. January 28, William B. Storer was mustered in as quartermaster, with the rank of first-lieutenant. John S. Hall had been made sergeant-major, September 25, 1861, but returned to Company D as second-lieutenant, November 22, 1861. Henry G. Bigelow of Company D became sergeant-major, December 23, 1861.

Soon after the regiment arrived at Poolesville, two of the first-lieutenants, Henry S. Taft of Company G and Edwin P. Woodward of Company D, were ordered to report to the chief signal officer of the army for instruction in the signal service. Neither of these officers, although they continued to be mentioned in reports as on detached service and were commissioned as captains in the regiment, ever returned to it. Henry S. Taft accompanied the expedition to Port Royal, South Carolina, where he gained the highest commendation of the commander of the Signal Corps for gallantry and good conduct. He was made brevet lieutenant-colonel for services rendered in the campaign against

Charleston, South Carolina, in 1862. He was acting chief signal officer of the Department of the South from July to December, 1862, and was appointed to this office December 11, 1862. From June, 1863, he had charge of the signal office at Washington under Colonel Myer. Edwin P. Woodward served with distinction in the Army of the Potomac and under Buell in Kentucky.

We have already noted the loss by death of Captain Gatchell, Lieutenants Bartholomew and Grout, and the resignation of Captains Bowman and Greene and Lieutenants Fuller and Vassall. Captain Sardus S. Sloan of Company F, and Lieutenants Frank W. Polley, Company A, James N. Johnson, Company C, and Stephen L. Kearney, Company G, resigned January 16, 1862, and were honorably discharged. Thus thirteen out of thirty of the original line officers were gone, and one more, Captain Rockwood, was absent, and destined to serve but a few days more with the regiment.

With the exception of the promotion of Lieutenant Greene, no new captains had thus far been commissioned. I. Harris Hooper had received a commission as second-lieutenant in the regiment, dating from October 8. Hans Peter Jorgensen, a promotion to a second-lieutenancy, dating from October 22. Thomas J. Spurr received a commission as first-lieutenant to date from November 17. Richard Derby was promoted to a first-lieutenancy, November 22, 1861, and Lyman H. Ellingwood, January 17, 1862. James Taft, Walter Gale and Lyman Doane were promoted to rank of second-lieutenants, January 17, 1862, Albert Prince, February 22.

The regiment lost many enlisted men between the battle of Ball's Bluff and the Peninsular campaign. February 17, 1862, ten of its men were accepted as volunteers for the Western Gunboat Flotilla. Of these, Pearl S. Gott of Company C was killed at Island No. 10, April 7, 1862.

During the winter the health of the regiment was gen-

erally good, except for mumps and measles, which caused some trouble. Dr. Crosby and Dr. Haven had charge of the brigade hospital. Dr. Bates was kept by ill health from the full performance of his duties as the surgeon of the regiment during much of the year he remained in office. William H. Folger of the band died December 21, 1861. Simeon E. Ball of Company G died January 24, 1862. Richard Derby says in regard to his funeral: "We had a funeral in camp this afternoon. A private of Company G, who died of measles, which is getting quite prevalent in this regiment, was buried with military honors. It is a very imposing ceremony. The colonel, in the absence of the chaplain, reads the Episcopal service. The band and the muffled drums play a dirge as the procession moves to the grave, where three volleys are fired over the coffin by the escort, which varies in size according to the rank of the deceased. The inhabitants of Poolesville, who refuse to attend our dress parades and reviews, seem to take some interest in a funeral; perhaps, because there is one more Union man dead and out of the way." Samuel Thomson of Company E died February 5, 1862; Charles H. Adams, Company D, February 27; Andrew Laverty, Company I, March 8; William M. Davis, Company E, March 10; Charles Davis, Company G, March 15; Charles B. Woods, Company A, was drowned at Sandy Hook, March 22. This gives ten deaths only in the five months. Thirty-eight are recorded as discharged for disability before April, and one as deserting.

After balancing the account with its losses and gains, the monthly report for March gives nine hundred and seventy-one men on the rolls. This did not include the paroled, but unexchanged, prisoners. For April, there are nine hundred and eighty-three men on the rolls. The number of the paroled but unexchanged prisoners was at least one hundred. If we include these, we here have a bigger total than at any previous time in the history of the regiment.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN.

MARCH 29—AUGUST 25.

GENERAL McCLELLAN had not organized army corps before March, 1862, because he had not been satisfied "what general officers were fitted to exercise those most important commands." March 8, 1862, an order was issued by the President directing that corps should be organized. The corps commanders were also designated by the President. The Second Army Corps was organized March 13. It originally consisted of three divisions, those of Generals Richardson, Blenker and Sedgwick. As General Blenker's division was detached March 31, 1862, it will not be considered here. The corps, consisting of the two other divisions, was as follows:

SECOND ARMY CORPS—Gen. Edwin V. Sumner, Commanding.

First Division—Brigadier-General Israel B. Richardson, commanding.—First Brigade, Brigadier-General Oliver O. Howard, commanding: Fifth New Hampshire, Sixty-first New York, Sixty-fourth New York, Eighty-first Pennsylvania. Second Brigade ("Irish Brigade"), Brigadier-General Thomas Francis Meagher, commanding: Sixty-third New York, Sixty-ninth New York, Eighty-eighth New York. Third Brigade, Brigadier-General William H. French, commanding: Fifty-second New York, Fifty-seventh New York, Sixty-sixth New York, Fifty-third Pennsylvania. Artillery, Captain George W. Hazzard, commanding: Batteries B and

G, First New York; Battery A, Second Battalion New York; Batteries A and C, Fourth United States.

Second Division—Brigadier-General John Sedgwick, commanding.—First Brigade, Brigadier-General Willis A. Gorman, commanding: First Minnesota, Colonel Alfred Sully; Fifteenth Massachusetts, Colonel Charles Devens, Jr.; Thirty-fourth New York, Colonel James A. Suiter; Eighty-second New York (Second State Militia), Colonel George W. B. Tompkins; First Company Massachusetts (Andrew) Sharpshooters, attached to Fifteenth Massachusetts. Second Brigade, Brigadier-General William W. Burns, commanding: Sixty-ninth Pennsylvania, Seventy-first Pennsylvania, Seventy-second Pennsylvania, One Hundred and Sixth Pennsylvania. Third Brigade, Brigadier-General Napoleon J. T. Dana, commanding: Seventh Michigan, Nineteenth Massachusetts, Twentieth Massachusetts, Forty-second New York. Artillery, Colonel C. H. Tompkins, commanding: Battery I, First United States; Battery A, First Rhode Island; Battery B, First Rhode Island; Battery G, First Rhode Island.

This army corps maintained its existence to the end of the war and the Fifteenth continued to serve in it until the regiment was mustered out.

The First Company of Sharpshooters, known as the Andrew Sharpshooters, was organized by Captain John Saunders of Lynnfield. When mustered, September 2, 1861, it contained one hundred and eight men. Most of these came from the cities and towns in the north-eastern part of the state. They were armed with heavy telescopic rifles and noted as marksmen. September 3, the company left Massachusetts for Maryland. During the fall and winter it served under General Lander in Maryland. When the army was organized for the Peninsular campaign, this company was attached to Gorman's brigade. Lieutenant-Colonel J. W. Kimball says it was not attached to the Fifteenth Regiment until July.

General Edwin V. Sumner, the first commander of the corps, was a native of Boston, born in 1797. He entered the regular army in 1819. He served in the Black Hawk and the Mexican Wars. He commanded in Kansas during the border troubles, and was leader in a campaign against the Cheyenne Indians. His age was a disadvantage, and it has been questioned whether his military ability was such as to fit him to plan wisely for the disposition of so large a body of troops in critical moments, but the estimate which General Francis A. Walker has made of his character and his influence upon the soldiers will be universally accepted. "In honor, in disinterestedness, in patriotism, in magnanimity, he shone resplendent. Meanness, falsehood, duplicity were more hateful than death to the simple-hearted soldier who had put himself, sword in hand, at the head of the divisions of Richardson and Sedgwick. If the Second Corps had a touch above the common; if in the terrible ordeals of flame and death through which, in three years of almost continuous fighting, they were called to pass, these two divisions showed a courage and tenacity that made them observed among the bravest; if they learned to drop their thousands upon the field as often as they were summoned to the conflict, but on no account to leave a color in the hands of the enemy, it was largely through the inspiration derived from the gallant old chieftain who first organized them and led them into battle."

General John Sedgwick, the commander of the Second Division, was born in Connecticut in 1813. He was a graduate of West Point and had served in the Mexican War. In valor he was not inferior to General Sumner. Among all the generals who learned the art of war by experience in the Army of the Potomac, it is doubtful if there was any one who surpassed Sedgwick in the total combination of qualities which go to make the able commander of large bodies of troops. This fact was recognized when he was offered the command of that army after the failure of General Hooker.

Although his modesty led him to decline this responsibility, yet he often acted in that capacity in the absence of General Meade, and always with conspicuous merit.

General Willis A. Gorman, the commander of the First Brigade of this division, was born January 12, 1814. He was a graduate of the Law School of the University of Indiana. He practiced law, and was clerk of the Senate in that state. He served in the Mexican War, and became colonel of the Fourth Indiana Regiment. He was in Congress from Indiana 1849-1853. He was governor of the territory of Minnesota 1853-1857. He practiced law in St. Paul until 1861, when he became colonel of the First Minnesota Regiment. A member of the Fifteenth says: "We all found in him a friend and champion, for he never spoke of our regiment but with feelings of pride. He had rough edges, but so does every good man; we remember him most at our camp-fires by recounting the humorous and grotesque in his character; but he was a man of ability and bravery and also a man of fine feeling."

Such were the commanders under whom the Fifteenth Regiment was called upon to serve; all were well-fitted to develop the most complete devotion to the duties of the soldier and the most unfaltering courage.

The capture of Richmond was the object of McClellan's campaign. There were two ways of advance from Washington by land: one by the line of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad; the other by the line of the railroad which led from Fredericksburg to Richmond. The possession of the seaboard of Virginia by the Federal forces opened other routes. That by the peninsula between the York and James rivers and that by the south side of the James, were the best of these. The question as to which should be chosen was rendered more complicated by the necessity of providing for the defense of Washington. After much discussion and considerable friction between President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton on one side and General McClellan on the

other, the route upon the peninsula between the York and James rivers was finally chosen. After the plan was arranged, General McClellan was embarrassed in his advance by his removal from the chief command of the armies of the United States by an order issued by the President March 11. He was also crippled by the withdrawal from his command of the First Corps under General McDowell, detached for the defense of Washington, and Blenker's division of the Second Corps, sent to General Fremont. Thus McClellan was unable to control the coöperation of other departments, and was obliged to conduct his campaign with only about eighty-five thousand men.

In the provisions made for transportation of this large body, the organizing genius of McClellan was seen at its best. The first troops embarked for Fortress Monroe, March 17. By April 2, fifty-eight thousand men had reached that point. The advance upon the low, level peninsula was begun on the 4th, the two divisions of the Fourth Corps taking the left road by Warwick Court House, the Third Corps and Sedgwick's division of the Second Corps going on the right-hand road by Big Bethel. The roads were in wretched condition on account of heavy rains, but by the afternoon of April 5, the troops were before the strong fortifications of Yorktown.

Chaplain Scandlin says, March 26: "At seven P. M., we moved and remained around the capital until 10 P. M., when we moved across the bridge, halting every few minutes. We succeeded, after many trials, in getting into the cars about one A. M. We reached Alexandria about three and a half A. M., wearied and worn, and then lay down on the grass." The Fifteenth remained in Alexandria until the 29th, when the diary continues: "Were roused at five-thirty A. M., with orders to be ready to embark at seven-thirty. We moved from the camp-ground about seven-thirty, and got on board about two P. M. About noon it commenced snowing. The Argo took A, B and D with the bandmen and teamsters.

The John Farron took the balance of the regiment with all the baggage. We made what arrangements we could to sleep. Came to anchor at dusk."

Lieutenant T. J. Spurr wrote, Monday, March 31, on board the steamer in Chesapeake Bay: "We embarked on Saturday morning in a snow storm. We always have storms of some kind. We were a long time embarking and getting our provisions aboard, but finally started about half-past one from Alexandria, having two schooners with horses belonging to two cavalry regiments in tow, one on each side. We were stowed away as thickly as it is possible to stow human flesh. Fortunately there was room on the schooners for two companies, so that they did not have to sleep on deck." The next day it was so rough that one of the schooners was cast off, but it was taken on again Monday as the weather improved. At eight-thirty on this day the boats reached Old Point Comfort.

The next morning the steamer proceeded to Hampton, which was a "perfect ruin." The troops landed at eleven A. M., and encamped about a mile from the village in an open plain. This camp was known as "Camp Hamilton." General McClellan encamped near the Fifteenth April 3, and men were detailed from the regiment to guard the headquarters of McClellan, Sedgwick and Gorman. April 4, the regiment started with the rest of Sedgwick's division for Yorktown. That night it encamped at Big Bethel, "in the strongest fortification of the rebels." As Sedgwick's division was the only one of the Second Corps that had reached the peninsula, it was attached for a short time to General Heintzleman's Corps. The march from this point on was impeded by the abandoned breastworks of the enemy and the trees they had cut down. The chaplain says: "We left at six, and the men were rushed through for the first two miles and then halted, and many of the troops we had passed were taken by us at the same rate. Twice we passed each other in this way. At about nine-thirty a heavy

thunder shower came up and it poured in torrents. The artillery was firing from nine-thirty up to late in the afternoon."

The Fifteenth halted on the night of Saturday, April 5, near the outer fortifications of Yorktown. This place was known as "Camp Misery," or "Camp Advance." Portions of a letter written by E. J. Russell, Company F, will show the position and condition of the men of the Fifteenth:

"NEAR YORKTOWN, April 6, 1862.

"We are about five miles from Yorktown, and there is said to be a large force on different roads leading thereto. Yesterday the advance batteries drove the rebels back to their intrenchments in front of the town. We hear occasionally a big gun that tells us of a conflict so very near. Night before last we encamped on the battle-field of Big Bethel, and behind intrenchments that seemed almost impregnable to an inexperienced eye. It is a wonder to me why the rebels did not contest our approach to Yorktown at that point, but I suppose they knew that there were ten solid miles of Yankees in the different roads leading to Yorktown and there was some danger that we might take some of them in the rear. But I have perfect confidence of the result, for our troops are determined not to be beaten, and I believe that McClellan is as great a favorite with his men as General Bonaparte was. You ought to have heard the men cheer, yesterday, when he and his suite passed them on the route to this place. He raised his hat, and he had a pleasant smile on his countenance which inspired the men with unbounded enthusiasm. I acknowledge a little weakness in that line, for I could not help throwing up my hat as 'Little Mac' passed me. From where I sit on my knapsack, I can see a balloon making a reconnaissance, so we know all about them, and I can hear the big guns booming, dealing their death missiles, and can see the smoke rise in clouds, showing where the shells burst. General Sedgwick's division is in a small field, where we are completely surrounded by a thick

wood, so we cannot tell what progress is being made. Just now six hundred men passed me, every one of whom had either a shovel, axe, or pick, for fatigue duty. So you see it takes back-bone to be a soldier in McClellan's army; but they are the very mudsills he likes for his work, and we are just going to do it for him.

"April 8. The approaches to the town are through low marshes, and the rebels had destroyed the roads, and thousands of men have been at work, some of them almost under the enemy's guns, to put them in such condition that our heavy artillery can be moved into position for a successful attack; but yesterday morning, as if the fates were against us, a severe northeaster set in, and it has rained hard ever since. It is so very cold and uncomfortable that the grand army is suffering terribly, and if we do not see the sun soon the sick list will largely increase. I never passed a more uncomfortable night than I did last night. Our rubber tents are too small to protect us from northeast storms, and the ground was so wet that my wool blanket was completely soaked through. The prospect for to-night is not at all pleasant, and I have made up my mind not to turn in at all. The storm will seriously affect our general's plans, but I expect that soon we shall hear the cannon open upon the batteries. Our gunboats came up the river yesterday, and transports can bring our rations within five miles of us, so there is no danger of starvation, although we have been rather short of rations for two or three days back.

"Wednesday morning, April 9. We passed another terrible night last night, the rain fell in torrents, and we were completely soaked. There is no prospect of its clearing off today....it is the severest test of our patriotism yet, but it will not always last, yet many a man will find an early grave on account of the exposure. To stand out anywhere last night and hear the coughing and the 'O dears!' which told the actual suffering, is almost as bad as to pass through the hospitals after a battle; but all these things have an end

and I hope the end is near. This rain will cost the government millions of dollars, besides many precious lives, yet it is not well to complain of the weather. Had it not been for the storm we might have been in Yorktown before now, but it is one complete quagmire now before the batteries, and the roads leading thereto are almost impassable."

April 9 and 10, the Fifteenth went out to guard the First Minnesota, which was building corduroy roads. April 11, the camp was moved nearer Yorktown, the men marching some two miles over the road just built. The next day the regiment was on picket duty. The new camp was called "Camp Winfield Scott" by general orders. April 14, the regiment was inspected by Major Davis of General Sumner's staff, who spoke highly of it. April 15, Surgeon Haven writes: "We are now encamped within range of the enemy's guns, who would probably shell us if he knew where we were. Consequently no drumming or music is allowed, and all fires and lights are put out at night. We have had some very bad weather and some rough experiences the last few weeks." On this day occurred the funeral of A. Money of Company H, who died of typhoid fever. April 16, the Fifteenth went up to support a Rhode Island battery which was shelling the enemy's works and got shelled in turn. The regiment remained in position all night. On the 17th, the camp moved three-fourths of a mile nearer the works.

The chaplain says: "April 18. Last night was one of the most lively seasons of the campaign. About twelve-thirty A. M. heavy firing commenced on our left. The colonel and major rushed down, rousing the men. The long roll was being beat, but some one had it stopped. The men were soon in line and ready. The firing continued ten or fifteen minutes. General Gorman roused and roared. About two-forty-five we had a second edition and were up in a hurry. The men bivouacked in line by their arms. Knox the sutler arrived, the first we have seen of him since we left Washington. April 19, orders were received to move out on the picket supports at seven A. M."

The 19th was spent in support of a battery, the 22d on picket, the 24th and 25th in building fortifications. On the 27th, the regiment was paid off. The 28th, the regiment was on picket. It was on this day that Second-Lieutenant John S. Hall of Company D received an ugly flesh wound in the thigh. He was the only man wounded in the regiment during the siege. He was conveyed to the hospital ship, "Commodore."

An event of great importance in the history of the Fifteenth occurred during the progress of the siege. Colonel Charles Devens, who had commanded the regiment up to this time, received a well-deserved promotion. He was made brigadier-general of United States Volunteers, April 15, 1862, and appointed to the command of the Third Brigade, Third Division, Fourth Army Corps. He did not actually leave the Fifteenth until April 28. On that day the chaplain wrote: "This is a day long to be remembered in the history of the Fifteenth. Before the regiment left, as it was ordered out on picket duty, the colonel had it drawn up, and addressed it, . . . making a deeply touching speech that brought tears to the eyes of many and made all feel as though a bond of real and deep affection was being sundered." Later, General Devens commanded in succession the Third Division, Eleventh Army Corps; the First Division, Eighteenth Army Corps; the Third Division, Twenty-fourth Army Corps. He followed the fortunes of McClellan through the Peninsular campaign. He did valiant service at Fair Oaks, where he received a serious wound. Later, at Fredericksburg, he "commanded the advance guard in crossing and the rear guard in recrossing the river." He was wounded again at Chancellorsville. He took part in the campaign of 1864. George F. Hoar says: "On the 3d of June, in an attack which General Walker characterizes as one 'which is never spoken of without awe and bated breath by any one who participated in it,' General Devens was carried along the line on a stretcher, being so crippled with inflammatory rheumatism that he

could neither mount his horse or stand in his place." He was made Military Governor at Richmond after the surrender. He was in command of the district of Northern Virginia, and later of that of South Carolina. He received the brevet of Major-General United States Volunteers April 3, 1865. He was mustered out June 2, 1866. He returned to the practice of law in Worcester. He became Justice of the Superior Court in April, 1867, and of the Supreme Court in 1873. He became Attorney-General under President Hayes in 1877. He was again Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, from 1881 to 1891. As president of the Harvard Alumni Association he presided at the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary. He died January 7, 1891. The ability he displayed at the bar and on the bench gives him a foremost position among our jurists. As an orator dealing with historic themes, he has had few equals. "But," says Senator Hoar, "it is as a soldier that his countrymen will remember him, and it is as a soldier that he wished to be remembered. He had a passionate love of country; he was absolutely fearless; he never flinched before danger, sickness, suffering or death. He was prompt, resolute and cool in the face of danger. He knew that he was contending for the life of his country, for the fate of human liberty on this continent. No other cause would have led him to draw his sword, and he cared for no other earthly reward for his service."

The feeling of the Fifteenth toward its former commander is well shown in the following petition:

"FIFTEENTH REGIMENT MASSACHUSETTS VOLUNTEERS,

"Before Yorktown, Va., April 23, 1862.

"To Major-General Geo. B. McClellan, Commanding U. S. Army.

GENERAL: The undersigned, representing all the commissioned officers of the Fifteenth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers, would respectfully submit that they have heard with unfeigned pleasure of the well-merited promotion of

Colonel Charles Devens to the rank of Brigadier-General of Volunteers.

"That having shared with him the exposure and privations of the field and having been led by him bravely through the danger of battle, they have entire confidence in his ability as a soldier, while his manly virtues have endeared him alike to his officers and men of his regiment. In view of these considerations, the undersigned would respectfully petition that the Commander-in-Chief, in assigning General Devens to a command, will be pleased to order a transfer of the Fifteenth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers to his brigade, that thereby they may still be permitted to serve under this brave and favorite commander, confidently believing that the efficiency of the Fifteenth Massachusetts Regiment and the general efficiency of the service will thereby be enhanced. The above petition is most respectfully submitted by the undersigned." McClellan did not, however, feel that he could disturb the existing organization.

Lieutenant-Colonel George H. Ward was made colonel of the regiment April 29. May 1, Major John W. Kimball was made lieutenant-colonel, and in the absence of Colonel Ward he commanded the regiment from the promotion of Colonel Devens to November 23, 1862. Chase Philbrick followed John W. Kimball as major.

May 2, Surgeon Haven says: "Our position is about in the center of the line of the army across the isthmus. Twice a week we all, the whole regiment, in fact the whole brigade, pass a day and a night on picket duty in front of the lines, and nearly every night a portion of the regiment (about one hundred men) is at work in the trenches."

Chaplain's diary, May 4: "Last night the enemy kept us awake nearly all night, throwing shells pell-mell into the woods all around, but strange to say, hurt no one. The regiment went for picket duty at a little before seven A. M. When the regiment went up to its old position it found that the pickets it went to relieve were mostly in the enemy's works, the latter having evacuated the place in a hurry.

"The regiment left camp the second time about nine A. M., getting into the works about ten. . . . The men of our brigade found tents enough to shelter us for the night.

"May 5. After a hard march over a terrible road, through the woods and through rebel camps, we reached Yorktown. Found the roads and forts of the place full of torpedo traps."

Yorktown had been captured but the rebel army had been withdrawn without much loss, under the able leadership of General Joseph E. Johnston. Moreover, a month had been secured by the rebels for gathering their forces and strengthening their defenses at Richmond. The delay had also added to the danger from the miasma of the swamps, which was far more destructive to the Union army than the bullets of the enemy. If McClellan had not been deprived of the troops of McDowell and the expected assistance of the fleet, he might, perhaps, have saved much valuable time and possibly have captured the original garrison of Yorktown. It is possible, also, that if he had acted with greater boldness he might have accomplished these same results with the troops which he actually had at his disposal. The over-estimate of the rebel forces, arising from the false reports of the secret service, accounts in a measure for McClellan's caution. The men were at that time, however, well satisfied with what had been done.

May 6, Richard Derby wrote: "The army is in fine spirits. I never saw the men so enthusiastic. Every one seems to think now that we shall soon put an end to the war and be sent home. General McClellan is in high favor. It is 'Onward to Richmond' now." Derby's description of the fortifications of Yorktown must not be omitted: "The rebel earthworks are tremendous, fort after fort of the strongest kind, and mounted with abundance of heavy artillery; but ours is so superior in range that they could not withstand them. The guns which they make at Richmond are very poor affairs. Five of them lie here in fragments, burst by the overcharges in attempting to reach our batteries. The

scoundrels buried bomb-shells and torpedoes in every road and all parts of the fortifications; so that, when we first entered, numbers were killed by their explosions. I had a very narrow escape from one. I went up to one of the guns that had burst, to examine it; and, a few minutes after, a soldier on the same errand trod on a torpedo and the shell exploded, throwing him ten feet into the air, tearing off one leg and burning him as black as a negro! The papers report only two killed in that way, but there have been many of them."

When Yorktown was evacuated, McClellan entrusted the main body of his troops to General Sumner, with orders to pursue the retreating rebels up the Peninsula while he remained behind at Yorktown to superintend the sending of a body of troops by water to West Point. Proceeding twelve miles from Yorktown the rebels made a stand at Williamsburg, May 5. After some serious fighting they were forced to continue their retreat on the morning of May 6 and offered no further resistance in arms to McClellan's slowly, but steadily advancing forces, until the end of the month. The troops which were sent to West Point, amongst which was the Fifteenth, after a sharp fight on the morning of May 7, secured their position and helped to render the lower portion of the Peninsula untenable to the rebels.

Chaplain Scandlin writes: "May 5. Orders came at six-thirty P. M. to be ready to leave, taking nothing but shelter tents, knapsacks and haversacks. At seven we were on the road and were there within sight of our camp-fires, getting only half a mile away up to two A. M., when we were ordered back to camp. During most of this time it poured in rain and all things considered it was the most miserable of all our experiences.—May 6. About four P. M., Companies A, B and D went on board the Eagle, the rest of us getting on board the Robert Morris.—May 7. Arrived at or near West Point at eight-thirty and got the seven companies from the Robert Morris on shore and in line about twelve. Some heavy firing was going on all the time we were landing.—

May 8. The regiment was roused at three A. M., line formed, arms stacked, and the men then allowed to lie down.—May 9. Moved at three P. M. The whole division moving at the same time made a very fine view indeed, eleven thousand men, artillery, etc. We moved over a splendid farm, over a second one owned by a man named Eltham. The whole division camped upon his farm.—May 10. Camp Eltham on the Pamunkey, . . . plenty of mosquitoes.—Sunday, May 11. At eight A. M. the regimental line was formed and the regiment then went out as a guard, Lieutenant-Colonel Kimball being the general field-officer of the day in this division. Quartermaster Storer left this morning to act as aid to General Devens, Lieutenant Eager acting in his place. No service again to-day.—May 15. Received orders in the night to be in readiness to leave this point at six A. M. General Burns' brigade first, then General Dana's and lastly ours. We were in line at six, and stood in that position until nine before we left, our movements being hindered by General Richardson's division that had landed just above us, and had started or had orders to start at four A. M. It rained hard before we left, and kept on all day and all night. I record the most wearisome and trying march of our experience, so many travelling over the road before us, rainy all day and the soil of a clayey nature, men with knapsacks and haversacks with three days' provisions, ammunition (forty rounds), and their pieces, average load about forty-five pounds, mud over the ankle, mixed to a complete batter. Men had no control over their feet. Then the marching was badly arranged. The men fell out by squads. We marched about ten miles and stopped near Austin's Church, a place I named Camp Welcome.—May 16 and 17. It took most of the 16th for our men to get into camp. On the 17th, we had a thorough inspection.—May 18. Camp at Mayo's, three miles from White House. We left Camp Welcome at seven A. M., first having the regiment drawn up by our headquarters and reading a portion of scripture and making a prayer. After

marching a short distance we came to New Kent Court House. We reached our destination at eleven A. M., and camped in a large field of wheat two feet high, very comfortable quarters." May 19 and 20 were spent pleasantly at "Camp Mayo."

"May 21. We left at six A. M. The weather was especially warm and the march was terribly trying. Passed Roper's Church, the place where Washington was married. Through the middle of the day we were pressed on unmercifully. About one-third of the regiment reached the camping-ground in line. At roll-call only eight were returned as absent, and they got in before dark. We were now camped a mile and a half from Bottom's Bridge."

General Gorman halted the brigade for a rest late in the day, but General Sedgwick sent a staff officer to have them hurry on. General Gorman said he was willing to be court-martialled, but he would not be reprimanded, for his men were unable to march further. "Why," said he, as a clinching argument, "two hundred and fifty men of the Fifteenth Massachusetts have fallen out." He thus implied that when men of that regiment fell out, the march was unmerciful indeed.

May 22 was a day of rest. The diary goes on: "May 23. Took up line of march at about seven A. M. After marching about six miles, which the men did in good order, having occasional halts, we reached the camp-ground [near the railroad bridge across the Chickahominy] about eleven-thirty. Sunday, May 25, there was a sermon at three P. M. Seventy-five were at the evening meeting. May 26 and 27 was spent in camp near Tyler House. On the evening of the latter the men in the camp started an illumination. From the brow of the hill it was magnificent, every shelter tent had its candle out, and there were candles on poles and trees and large bonfires here and there.—May 28. At four-thirty we were on the road from Tyler House. Four times during the night we were roused up and under arms, ready to leave at a moment's notice. We marched without knap-

sacks or shelter tents, taking rubber blankets and woolen and three days' cooked rations. About one mile out our regiment was ordered to leave their blankets. After marching some four miles we bivouacked on the direct road to Richmond, some two miles from New Bridge. We spent here the most tedious day of the campaign, waiting for a call, wearied by the action of the night and the heat of the day.—May 29. Camp Bivouack near Cold Harbor. Waited all day to help General Porter, but he succeeded in accomplishing his object without our help. We got marching orders for camp about four-thirty P. M., getting in so as to fix up comfortably for the night.—May 30. Camp near Tyler House. The prisoners from Porter's engagement were passing here yesterday and to-day, the wounded in a long train of four-horse ambulances, rebels and Union together, faring alike."

A letter of Lieutenant Spurr's reads: "Friday evening [May 23], the regiment were on picket duty along the Chickahominy. Probably you have heard so much of this river that you have come to consider it at least as wide as the Merrimac, but along here it is merely a small brook, not more than twenty-five feet wide, running through a swamp. The swamp is in some respects very beautiful." When this stream was swollen with rains it had a very different appearance, as it spread out over the swamp. An order was given May 23d, that a ration of half a gill of whiskey should be issued twice each day. Some of the temperance men doubted the wisdom of this order.

In order to concentrate the rebel army about Richmond, General Johnston had persuaded the Confederate government to evacuate Norfolk May 10. The Merrimac, which had been defeated by the Monitor, March 9, was now blown up by its commander, since it had too great draught to go up the river to Richmond. The Union fleet advanced without opposition to Drewry's Bluff, within twelve miles of the rebel capital. On the opposite side of the Peninsula

McClellan had his base of supplies at White House, the head of navigation of the Pamunkey. This White House was connected with Richmond, which lay some eighteen miles to the west, by the Richmond and York River Railroad. Using this road as his line of supplies, McClellan advanced to Fair Oaks on the Chickahominy, which was only six miles from the rebel capital. McClellan had been forced to bring his supplies up the York and Pamunkey rather than the James, in order that he might unite with McDowell whose long-desired assistance had once more been promised to him by a dispatch from Stanton dated May 18. Reinforced by troops detached from the command of General Banks, McDowell was to move southward from Fredericksburg May 26. Thus far the Peninsular campaign had been crowned with success, and it seemed likely that within a few days the Union army, over one hundred and twenty thousand strong, would fall with overwhelming force on Richmond.

But meanwhile, General Stonewall Jackson in the Valley of the Shenandoah had forced back the diminished army of General Banks, and finally drove them across the Potomac. The President, fearing for the safety of the capital, in opposition to all military rule, detained for service against Jackson the troops of McDowell. Thus the plans of McClellan were again frustrated. While he had been waiting, three things had been necessary: he had been obliged to extend his right so as to be ready to make connections with the left of McDowell; to make firm his position at the Richmond side of the Chickahominy, and to guard his line of supplies by the Richmond and York River Railroad.

Two new army corps, the Fifth and Sixth, had been authorized on the 18th of May, so that the force of McClellan was now divided into five corps of two divisions each. On May 30, the Third and Fourth Corps were on the Richmond side of the Chickahominy, while the Second, Fifth and Sixth were on the other side. Two weak bridges had been thrown over the river by General Sumner.

General Johnston had now, as he thought, found his opportunity to destroy the two divisions of the Union army on the right bank of the Chickahominy before they could be joined by the other three. A severe storm on May 30 rendered the separation of the two portions of the Union army still more complete by swelling the river and overflowing the swamps. It was under such conditions as these that the battle of Fair Oaks or Seven Pines was fought May 31 and June 1.

Casey's division of the Fourth Corps was on the right at Fair Oaks. Couch's division was near by at Seven Pines, on both sides of the Williamsburg road. Kearney's division of the Third Corps was along the railroad between Savage Station and the bridge. Hooker's division was on the left on the borders of White Oak Swamp. At twelve-thirty, May 31, the rebels advanced under Hill and Longstreet and began with an attack on Casey's division, which, after a severe struggle, was driven back on the position of General Couch. Before this, General Keyes, commander of the Fourth Corps, had ordered General Couch to the assistance of General Casey. As Couch advanced with only two regiments, he met a large body of rebel troops. It was Smith's division coming up to enter the battle. Couch was reënforced by two regiments and Brady's battery, but was separated from his division by the interposition of rebel troops, and compelled to fall back toward the Grapevine Bridge. He made a stand at the Adams House, but would have been swept away by the mere force of numbers unless reënforced. General Kearney's division of the Third Corps came to the assistance of the Fourth Corps, the foremost brigade arriving at four o'clock. Even with this assistance the Fourth Corps was forced back along the Williamsburg road, stubbornly contesting every foot. Two brigades of Kearney's division were cut off from the main body of the Union troops. A little after five o'clock the battle seemed hopelessly lost. The main body under Keyes were ex-

hausted with hours of fighting and sadly reduced in numbers. Kearney's brigades were making a long detour to rejoin this main body. The little force under Couch was liable to be swept out of existence at any moment.

But where was General Sumner with his Second Corps? At one o'clock he had received orders from General McClellan to be in readiness to move at a moment's notice. He advanced his two divisions to the two bridges he had just completed. General Francis A. Walker says: "Both bridges over the raging and fast-rising torrent were in a terrible condition. The long corduroy approaches through the swamp had been uplifted from the mud and now floated loosely on the shallow water. The condition of that part of the bridge which crossed the channel of the river it was impossible to ascertain except by actual trial; but its timbers could be seen, rising and falling and swaying to and fro under the impulses of the swollen floods." It was half-past two before the order came to advance. The rising waters had rendered the bridge where Richardson was stationed unfit for crossing, but, although even Sumner feared that the attempt would result in terrible disaster, Sedgwick's division marched upon the other swaying bridge which, with the corduroy approaches, was nearly half a mile in length. The weight of the moving column steadied it. Richardson's division followed by the same submerged bridge, which was soon after swept away.

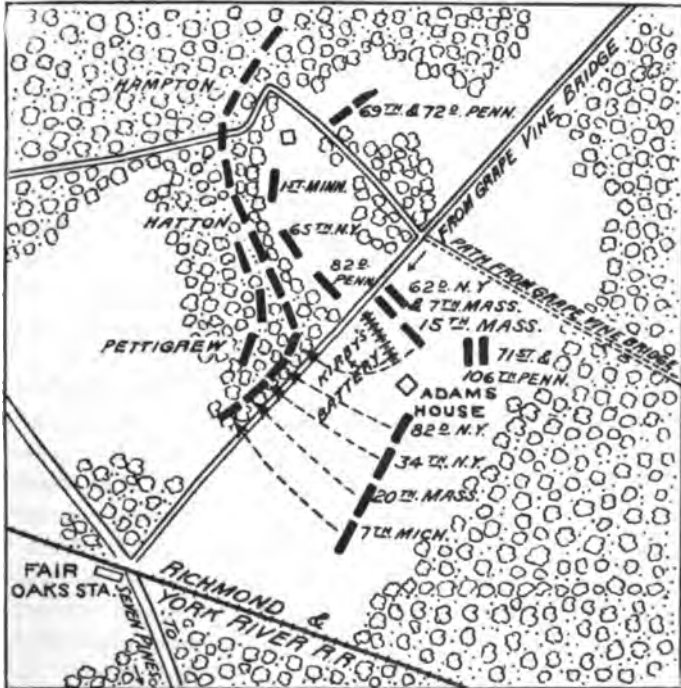
One of the men of the Fifteenth says: "After leaving the bridge we waded through mud and water nearly waist deep before we reached hard ground." Most of the artillery was unable to move through this; Kirby's battery alone, by the aid of human muscle, reached the ground. Again we turn to the account of General Walker:

"And now the cry is Forward! Sedgwick's division is fairly across the treacherous river, and turning, without a guide, it takes the road that leads more directly toward the thunders of the cannonade and the roar of musketry along

the Williamsburg road. There was enough in that sound to stir the blood of the true soldier. Every man in the ranks understood that the whole fury of the most powerful assault which Johnston could deliver had fallen, and was still falling, on the imperilled left. Step out, men of the First Minnesota! Swing your long Western legs to their full compass every time! You are setting the pace for the whole rescuing column. Your comrades of the Third and Fourth Corps are turning blood-shot eyes down the road to 'Sumner's Bridge,' awaiting the gleam of your bayonets."

It is General Couch with his four sturdy regiments and Brady's battery whom the advancing column first met. Kirby swings into position on the right of Brady. Gorman's brigade, with the exception of the First Minnesota which was on the right, takes its position at the left of Couch's regiments. The Fifteenth was ordered to support Kirby's battery. One of the men writes: "We moved promptly into position in the rear of the guns, and held that position till near the close of the battle, the men not giving one inch of ground. Three times men from our regiment moved to assist in working the guns, and they sprang forward like tigers. Three times the enemy charged upon the battery, but three times they were repulsed." The Fifteenth fought with grand courage, and stood with unyielding firmness. Again and again the rebels advanced to various points of the lines formed by Sumner and Couch; again and again they are repulsed. At last Sumner feels that the time has come for offensive action. From Gorman's brigade he orders up the Fifteenth Massachusetts, the Thirty-fourth and Eighty-second New York; from Dana's, the Seventh Michigan and Twentieth Massachusetts. The line composed of these five regiments is quickly formed; then comes the order to charge. Swiftly the men move forward, firing as they go. Two fences are in their way, but they fall as the line reaches them. There is no pause, inspiration comes with movement, they break into a wild yell, the bayonets are fixed,

the line presses fiercely onward, the enemy breaks in the greatest confusion, leaving the field strewn with their wounded and dead.



The farm-house near the position of the First Minnesota was known as the Courtney House, and became General Sedgwick's headquarters. In some maps the Adams House and Kirby's battery are placed nearer the intersection of the roads. Brady's battery was also upon the field in two sections, one at the left of the First Minnesota, the other near the Adams House.

The darkness was already gathering. There on the edge of the wood whence the enemy had been driven, the men of the Fifteenth spent the night. It was a night of "drizzling rain and inky darkness." All were wet to the hips, many had lost their shoes in the mud, the bodies of the dead and wounded were lying on every side; you could not move without falling over them; the air was filled with shrieks and groans; an attack might take place at any moment; in the

morning, if not before, the conflict must be renewed, but the elation of victory cheered the men even in circumstances like these.

As Hooker had now brought up his division of the Third Corps, there were on the morning of June 1, three complete army corps—the Second, Third and Fourth—in position ready for action. Two divisions, those of Richardson and Hooker, had taken no part in the battle of May 31. It was upon these divisions that the brunt of the fighting came on June 1. Richardson became engaged between six and seven. This seems to have been an accident rather than the result of a deliberate plan on either side. The contest lasted for two or three hours, then the rebels withdrew to their lines about Richmond and the Union troops went forward to the position held by the rebels before the battle began. The Fifteenth, although like the rest of General Sedgwick's division it stood waiting an attack, was not engaged on June 1.

The total loss to the regiment in this battle was given as five killed and seventeen wounded. Five of these wounded died from their wounds. In the Union army seven hundred and ninety were killed, three thousand five hundred and ninety-four were wounded and six hundred and forty-seven captured or missing, a total of five thousand and thirty-one. The rebel loss is estimated at about seven thousand. General Johnston, the leader of the rebels, was disabled.

The chaplain's diary states: "Sunday, June 1. Battle-field of Fair Oaks. As we passed through the woods where the enemy had been, the sight was terrible. Men lay in all conceivable conditions, just as they fell. I went down to gather our dead together and had men bury them, marking their graves with some boards bearing their names. We had a brief prayer. It was just about dusk as we left them to their rest. Threats of thunder shower. Went to work to get our wounded under cover, in stalls, barns, sheds, hen-houses; terrible job.—June 5. This afternoon took six men and had the graves of our five men sodded and fenced in."

Various stories are told of the battle which may be taken for what they are worth. An officer of the Fifteenth soon after the fight wrote a letter from which the following extracts are made: "General Gorman told us the other night that Magruder had told his own troops, in his usual style, 'All hell was not so hot as that brigade' (Gorman's). Lieutenant Kirby, commanding the battery which the Fifteenth supported, told me the next day, had he been one-half as well supported at Bull Run, he would not have lost his battery there. . . . Our watchword as we went into the fight was, 'The memory of our comrades who fell at Ball's Bluff.' . . . To show the faith the general commanding the brigade had in the regiment we give the following extract from a private letter: 'General Sumner told General Gorman during the hottest fire, that he had better send another regiment to help support the battery. Gorman replied: 'There is no need of that, for the Fifteenth Massachusetts is there, and it will stand till the last man is shot down.' There was no other regiment sent to assist them."

Another variation of this story is more often told: Sumner asked Gorman, as the mighty mass of rebels surged towards the guns, "Ought not that battery to have more support?" "Do you know what regiment that is?" said Gorman. "No," replied Sumner. "Why," said Gorman, "that is the Massachusetts Fifteenth, and with that regiment in support, all hell couldn't take that battery."

Of the conduct of the regiment during the battle the report of the commander, Lieutenant-Colonel John W. Kimball says: "My regiment behaved with great coolness and bravery during the entire action, obeying my orders as promptly as at dress parade. There was no one, officer or private, that showed any signs of trepidation or fear." He especially commended Major Philbrick, Surgeons Bates and Haven and Chaplain Scandlin for their energy and courage. Of Adjutant Baldwin he says: "Too much praise cannot be awarded to Adjutant Baldwin, who got up from a sick bed

against my express wishes to render me what service he could. He was scarcely able to sit upon his horse, but he remained with me during the entire battle, conveying my orders with great promptness and precision."

In a general order of June 4, General Gorman said: "The general commanding the brigade congratulates the officers and soldiers of his command on their recent honorable achievements. The cool courage and steadiness displayed by you at Fair Oaks on May 31 and June 1, have won for you a position second to none. The gallantry of your irresistible charge with the bayonet overwhelmed a confident foe, turned back the tide of battle and crowned your banners with victory."

A letter sent by General Gorman to the governor of Massachusetts must be quoted in full:

"HEADQUARTERS GORMAN'S BRIGADE,

"Fair Oaks, Va., near Richmond, June 13, 1862.

"His Excellency John A. Andrew:

"SIR: Now that the smoke of the battle-field has cleared away, I cannot forbear taking the opportunity to testify to the gallant soldierly conduct of the Fifteenth Regiment of your troops in our late contest,—the bloodiest of the war. It was their fortune to be participants in a real, not imaginary, bayonet charge, made upon the most intrepid and daring of the rebel forces, at a critical moment for our cause. Most nobly and gallantly did they honor themselves and their gallant state and most proudly may she feel over them. With such troops in the field we are invincible,—and the result of this contest with an unholy rebellion cannot be doubtful. I ask, Sir, in conclusion, that the history of the Fifteenth Massachusetts Volunteers may be made part of the history of the state as associated with one of the most brilliant exploits of the war, which the official reports will soon disclose to your Excellency—to which I refer with pride and satisfaction. I have the honor to be,

"Your Excellency's obedient servant,

"W. A. GORMAN, *Brig.-Gen. U. S. A., Commanding.*"

The lack of bridges over the swollen stream would have delayed McClellan in crossing the stream with his Fifth and Sixth Corps and following up his advantage against the enemy, even if the hesitant quality of his mind had allowed him to do so. The renewed hope of reënforcement from McDowell's Corps was his excuse for still further prolonging this delay. McCall's division arrived on June 13 and 18. It was June 25 before the bridges, the roads and the fortifications were in such a condition that McClellan felt that he was prepared for an advance. On this very day General Jackson arrived with twenty-five thousand troops within twelve miles of Richmond. Robert E. Lee, who had been called to the command of the rebel army on account of the disabling of Johnston at Fair Oaks, had summoned Jackson, with the plan of attacking McClellan's line of supplies. To attempt to defend this line of supplies against the rebels involved great risks, to move directly upon Richmond while Lee's troops were away from the city, required more boldness than McClellan possessed. The only other alternative was to change his base of supplies to the James. This he proceeded to do.

Chaplain Scandlin tells the story of the Fifteenth during this period of waiting at "Camp Lincoln:

"June 3. Battle-field of Fair Oaks. During last night we had a terrific thunder shower with heavy rain. This elemental warfare as we sat drenched upon the battle-field of human conflict with the unburied dead around us, left a deep impression of horror; rain pouring, pickets firing, no lights allowed, every indication of another conflict. (The lack of shelter, overcoats and rations added to the discomfort.)—June 7. Last night we were routed in a hurry. The men (all but four of a company) were sound asleep, but the line was formed in less than five minutes.—June 9. We shifted our position to the left of our brigade near the headquarters house.—June 11. Men busy in erecting a new breastwork further back. Some shelling and picket firing.—June 12.

About one A. M. last night we were all turned out on the double quick. All waited, expecting the attack. But on searching for the cause, it proved to be the New York Seventh Volunteers. One company going out to relieve picket was fired upon by the pickets on their own side, and they in turn replied.—June 13. This morning I was aroused with the roar of artillery, shells exploding in all directions.—June 14. We have had three companies out on picket for two days. The days have been very warm, and the water and exposure has begun to tell on the regiment. The stench from the partially buried is very bad.—June 15. Were roused by the pickets at 3 A. M.—June 16. The major was brigade officer of the day, and was out with his picket this afternoon, when General McClellan got into conversation and asked him his regiment. When the major said the Fifteenth Massachusetts, McClellan said, 'The Fifteenth, why that is the famous regiment of Ball's Bluff.'—June 19. Camp Lincoln, battle-field of Fair Oaks. In afternoon McClellan was round and the troops were wild with enthusiasm, cheering and throwing their hats in the air. Orders came to be ready at a moment's notice.—June 19. Sickness is increasing very fast indeed.—June 20. The past night was very much broken up by repeated firing and expectations of attack."

Lee's first attack in his movement to break McClellan's line of supplies was upon McCall at Mechanicsville. On the 27th, General Porter with the Fifth Corps fought at Gaines' Mill to save the bridge over the Chickahominy. Although he fought with grand courage and great coolness, yet the thirty-three thousand troops under his command would have been hopelessly defeated by the sixty thousand rebels if two brigades of Richardson's division of the Second Corps had not come from the Richmond side of the river to their assistance. The Fifteenth was not engaged in this bloody battle, although it was sent during the day to report to General Smith, who was holding the right bank of

the river at Golding Farm with a division of the Sixth Corps.

By June 28, McClellan's line of communication with the York and Pamunkey had been abandoned, and all his forces concentrated on the Richmond side of the Chickahominy. June 29, McClellan had withdrawn six divisions across White Oak Swamp and left five—two of the Second Corps, two of the Third, and one of the Sixth—to withstand the enemy and cover the retreat. General Sumner commanded this force. Lee had been deceived by supposing that McClellan would defend his line of supplies or retreat down the Peninsula, but on the morning of the 29th, Magruder saw that the intrenchments were abandoned, and began his pursuit.

Luckily, Jackson was detained, and Magruder found "No thoroughfare written in letters of fire in every point of brave Sumner's line." By sunset the battle of Savage Station had been won by the Union troops. So elated was Sumner by his victory that it required a positive order from McClellan to make him withdraw at night toward White Oak Swamp. He was obliged to leave twenty-five hundred sick and wounded in the hospitals to the tender mercies of the rebels.

On the 30th, all of the Union army was across White Oak Swamp, but as Jackson was in hot pursuit, the rear guard withstood his progress in an advantageous position just beyond the swamp. It was here that the Fifteenth was stationed. Meanwhile, a large body of rebel troops, thrown around the swamp, fell upon the Union line at Glendale. Gorman's brigade, led by Colonel Suiter, reached this battle-field in the latter part of the engagement. After a struggle, remarkable for its fierceness, the rebels were repulsed. On the following day McClellan was able to choose his own ground at Malvern Hill, with his back to the James. A series of terrible assaults were made on this strong position and were easily repulsed with great loss to the enemy. This victory closed the Seven Days fight. McClellan had successfully effected his change of base.

In order to follow the part taken by the Fifteenth in this

movement let us turn to the report of Lieutenant-Colonel John W. Kimball:

“HEADQUARTERS FIFTEENTH REGIMENT MASS. VOLS.,
“Camp near Harrison’s Landing, July 5, 1862.

“(SIR:) I have the honor to report that on Friday, June 27, 1862, at two o’clock P. M., I was ordered to move my regiment as rapidly as possible from camp near Fair Oaks, and take a position on the right of the Eighty-second New York Volunteers, this being the extreme right of Gorman’s brigade. Remained in this position until about five o’clock P. M., when I was ordered to report immediately to General Burns, which I did, taking a position on the left of his brigade, in support of the Seventh New York Volunteers. We remained in this position about half an hour, during which time a very hot skirmish was going on directly in front, in which the front lines and artillery only were engaged. Was then ordered to report immediately to General Smith on the right of the line, which I did, moving my regiment a part of the way at double-quick. Reporting to General Smith at eight o’clock, was ordered at once to enter a rifle pit to the left of the front, thereby relieving the Fifth Wisconsin Volunteers, who were ordered to the front, where a most terrific engagement was going on. Was then ordered to leave the pit and advance in line of battle to the front, in order to relieve the troops whose ammunition had been expended. When but a few rods in advance of the pit the order was countermanded, the report having been received that the enemy had been repulsed and driven from his position in much confusion. After receiving the thanks of General Smith, I returned to camp by his order, reporting to General Sumner. Although not actually engaged with the enemy in any part of the day’s fight, I cannot but think that it was owing to the timely arrival of my regiment on the right, thereby permitting reënforcements to go to the front at this critical time, that the tide of battle was turned and the suc-

cess made complete to our arms. My loss was two wounded, which will be shown in the recapitulation of casualties.

"At six o'clock on Saturday, the 28th ultimo, was ordered to have everything packed and in readiness to move at a moment's notice. At half-past eight o'clock P. M., I reported in person to General Sedgwick for orders, by order of Lieutenant Church Howe. Was ordered by General Sedgwick to proceed immediately and as rapidly as possible to Savage Station and report there to General Marcy, chief of staff. I left camp precisely at nine o'clock P. M., and proceeding by way of the railroad, reported to General Marcy at half-past ten o'clock. By his order, bivouacked my regiment near station until morning, there to await further orders."

A letter of Lieutenant T. J. Spurr's amplifies this report of Saturday's doings. "After a hard day's work on Saturday, building breastworks in support of Smith's division, we marched back to our camp in the center of the line before Richmond about six o'clock. Before the companies were dismissed, Colonel Kimball called the officers together and told them that he had received orders to have everything ready to withdraw from our position; that the army was to give up its line of breastworks and fall back upon the James River; that everything must be prepared without noise, and there must be no unusual lights or commotion in camp. The sick were sent away with the wagons. Those who were not sick, but yet not well, marched with them, so that they might not have to be pushed so rapidly as the regiment would be. Everything that could not be carried was destroyed. Nothing that could benefit the rebels was left. About nine o'clock the order came to fall in without noise, and to take up the line of march as quickly as possible. We started with sad hearts, not knowing the plans of our 'little George,' and, though hopeful still, fearing misfortune. Our regiment marched about two miles to Savage Station, taking until ten-thirty to accomplish it. When at last we were able to lie down it was in a drizzling rain. At such times rubber blank-

ets come in play, and covering myself up with mine, with one under me, I slept as soundly as if at home. We lay down about midnight or one o'clock, and were called at half-past three."

Kimball's report continues: "By orders of General Williams my regiment was ordered at nine o'clock A. M. to report immediately at the station, for the purpose of destroying ammunition and stores collected there. Such was the quantity and weight of material to be destroyed, that the utmost exertions of my entire force were required to accomplish the desired end before the arrival of the division, to the general of which I was ordered to report."

Turning once more to Spurr's letter, we read: "Meanwhile the torch had been applied to such property as could not otherwise be destroyed, cars full of ammunition, hard-bread and commissary stores of all kinds. Only so much was left as was necessary for those who had to be left in the hospital. The surgeon who had volunteered to stop in command told me that there were about five thousand sick and wounded there (mostly the latter) the night before, but that about two thousand of them had managed to hobble off. This number included many rebels, for we have taken almost as much care of them as of our own men. As the rest of our division came through the field where we were lying, the Fifteenth took its proper place in line. General Sedgwick's division was left as a rear guard."

Taking up Kimball's report again: "At half-past four o'clock P. M. was ordered to form line of battle on hill as reserve, the enemy having appeared in front and opened on us with artillery. The engagement becoming general, was ordered by General Sumner to advance to the front at double-quick. With cheers the men advanced, and with an unbroken line soon reached the woods, there to relieve the One Hundred and Sixth Pennsylvania Volunteers, then somewhat disordered, and occupy a position to the right and rear of the Eighty-second New York Volunteers and to the left

of the Twentieth Massachusetts Volunteers. This position I was ordered to hold, throwing out my pickets three hundred yards to the front. About nine o'clock P. M. was ordered to withdraw quietly, leaving my pickets, and report to Colonel Sully, commanding brigade, near my original position. When advancing to the front the men, by order of General Sumner, threw knapsacks and blankets off, and were not allowed to recover them on their return, by order of Colonel Sully. In this engagement my loss was three wounded, which will be shown in the recapitulation of casualties."

Spurr says: "We lay against a fence just behind the lines that had been firing, until about nine o'clock, when we were moved off quietly to the rear and the line of retreat was taken up. Our Sunday night march was a pretty hard one. Four or five regiments were in column together over a narrow road, very muddy and crowded with stragglers. The number of men without any organization is perfectly disgraceful. We marched until half-past two Monday morning. We slept until four, when we were marched about half a mile. Had just time enough to get our coffee and eat some hard-bread, when we were marched a few miles further and lay till two o'clock in the shade waiting for the wagon trains to pass."

The report states: "On Monday, 30th ultimo, at half-past two o'clock P. M., was ordered to form my regiment in the open field in front of headquarters at Nelson's Farm, heavy firing of artillery having opened on the right. After remaining about half an hour in this position was ordered to move to the right and report to General Dana. After proceeding half a mile in this direction was ordered to form my regiment in the field near the road. At this time Colonel Suiter took command of the brigade. At about four o'clock P. M. was ordered to the left of General Richardson's line of battle, forming a right angle with his line, in order to protect his left flank. At about five o'clock P. M. was ordered to return to my original position, a severe engagement having opened

at that point. On the road I received orders direct from General Sedgwick, through Lieutenant Church Howe, to use the utmost speed in reaching the field, as more troops were greatly needed at this critical moment. Almost exhausted by fatigue and heat, unable to move rapidly, still came in in good order, and forming in the field advanced, by order of General Sumner, to the front. After advancing some three hundred yards was ordered by General Burns to move by the right flank to the rear and support of Colonel Baxter. The firing becoming very heavy on the extreme left, was ordered by General Burns to proceed to the left of the First Minnesota Volunteers and then move forward to that point where the fire was the hottest. On reaching the front I relieved the Sixty-ninth Pennsylvania Volunteers, whose ammunition had become exhausted. Before my arrival the fire slackened and soon ceased altogether, and was not renewed at that point. I remained in this position until twelve o'clock, when, being ordered to withdraw quietly, did so, taking in my pickets. The loss to my regiment during the engagement was six wounded, which will be shown in the recapitulation of casualties."

Spurr adds: "Closing up our line, General Sumner rode to the front and said: 'Go in, boys, for the honor of old Massachusetts. I am a Massachusetts man myself. I have been hit twice this afternoon, but it is nothing when you get used to it.'.....We remained in line with pickets in front till midnight, expecting an attack. We could see the torches of the enemy who were looking for their wounded, and could hear the wounded tell the number of their regiments. Our wagons and most of our artillery having gone past us, our line of march was resumed at midnight. We were quite near the rear and had a much better road than on the night before, but the men were tired and it was hard for them to keep up. We went on until about three o'clock and then lay down out of danger on high ground, not far from City Point. About eight o'clock dispositions began to be

made for a great battle. The field or rather the farm is the most magnificent one for the purpose, I can imagine, with just enough hill and dale to afford good positions for artillery and cover for infantry."

The report closes: "On Tuesday, July 1, at eleven o'clock, the enemy having appeared in force, I was ordered to form in line of battle on the hill at Malverton as a reserve to the First Minnesota and Eighty-second New York Volunteers. When in this position received a severe fire from the enemy's artillery, and was soon ordered out of range and under cover of the woods. Remained in this position until one o'clock A. M., July 2, and was then ordered to withdraw quietly, taking in my pickets. On the conduct of my command during the five days of labor and fatigue I have but to say that they all, officers and men, evinced a disposition to perform the arduous duties assigned them to the utmost of their ability and strength, and although not at any time under severe fire, advanced when ordered upon points of apparent danger with that same spirit and determination which they have ever shown in former engagements.

"I have the honor to be, captain, very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"JOHN W. KIMBALL,

"Lieut.-Col. Fifteenth Massachusetts Infantry.

"Captain HEBARD, Assistant Adjutant-General."

Thus the famous change of base ended, and the troops went into camp at Harrison's Landing in a position in which the baffled enemy could do them no injury, while they waited for new issues.

McClellan still had from eighty to ninety thousand men. He had never been better situated for an offensive campaign as regards position. He now prepared a plan for a movement toward Richmond on the south of the James, somewhat along the line afterwards taken by Grant. Reënforcements were promised him from the armies in North and South Carolina. The initial movement in the new campaign

was made August 3 to 7, by the divisions of Hooker and Sedgwick and Couch, who advanced to Malvern Hill, and after some skirmishing, occupied the old battle-ground. On the very day, however, that this movement began, an order was sent from Washington by General Halleck, who had recently assumed command of the armies, to withdraw the whole force from the Peninsula. Thus the Peninsular campaign, which had been entered upon with such high hopes, was ended. Although the primary aim of capturing Richmond was not attained, so that the Confederates had the credit of the victory and the moral prestige which it gave, yet their losses were proportionate to ours. If we are to consider the army of the rebels rather than their capital, the objective against which McClellan fought, then the campaign ended with the rebel forces much nearer final exhaustion as compared to the Union forces than when it began. It must be remembered, too, that the withdrawal was made just as McClellan was entering upon a promising offensive movement.

In the casualty returns for the period between June 25 and July 2, the Fifteenth is reported to have had eleven wounded and twenty-seven captured or missing. Considering the efficient work it had done, this loss seems small. If we would understand the real losses to the regiment during the Peninsular campaign, however, we must study the hospital reports, for many a man who was discharged for disability during the summer and autumn, had incurred chronic complaints in the swamps of the Chickahominy.

The camp at Harrison's Landing was more healthy than that at Fair Oaks had been, but many had not recovered from the wounds and diseases of the campaign, so that the hospitals were full. July 18, Surgeon Haven says: "The sick list is very large." The paymaster came July 21. July 22, there was a grand review of Sumner's corps. During the five weeks that McClellan's army remained here, little that was eventful occurred. Selections from the letters of Richard Derby tell the story:

"Monday, August 4. The rebels say that this is the hottest part of Virginia, and our drill-ground is the very focus of the region round about.... We have had but two events, of late, to remind us that we are in the vicinity of the enemy. One night, about a week ago, the sudden and rapid booming of cannons and the whizzing of shells broke the stillness of the night. The rebels had planted a battery on the opposite side of the river, and were blazing away at us with a vengeance. It was some time before we got our big guns to bear on them.... Here is another order: 'No brigade drill, prepare to move,—two days' rations in haversacks, and sixty rounds of ammunition;' so I must drop the pen and take up the sword.

"Thursday evening, August 7. Here I am, seated again quietly in our old quarters, after a three-days' picnic. Our expedition was intended to surprise the rebels at Malvern Hill,—the scene of the great battle of July 1. Our division was to march round across country and fall upon their left flank, while another moved directly upon their front. But they were too wide-awake, and got wind of the movement, so that they could withdraw at pleasure. We marched most all Monday night, taking a little nap just before morning, and then advanced upon the enemy's pickets. Firing began at daylight, and was kept up pretty briskly for two hours. The Fifteenth, with its usual good luck, was in such a position as not to be engaged, and did not lose a man. Our post was an honorable one, and if the rebels had chosen to resist, it would have been a bloody one. We bivouacked among the graves of the killed of July 1,—those of the Confederates being single, while those of the Federals were huge trenches, where all were tumbled in promiscuously, and sometimes barely covered with loose earth. All the buildings in the vicinity were completely riddled with rifle and cannon balls. All the inhabitants, black and white, had fled. One rich old planter left so many proofs of disloyalty, that we burnt his dwelling and all his out-buildings. Skirmishing

was going on between our cavalry scouts and the enemy's pickets day and night. When it became evident that we had drawn down from Richmond a pretty strong force preparing to attack us, we had gained all we wanted, and, at one-thirty this morning, we silently took our blankets on our arms and left, arriving in camp early this morning, tired, dusty, hungry and sleepy. Our band is to be mustered out to-morrow, and, this evening, is giving farewell serenades which interfere materially with my writing. They are now playing 'Ever of Thee'—a beautiful tune that I am willing to devote a good share of my precious time to hearing. I call my time 'precious' because I ought to be sleeping, preparatory to early work to-morrow morning. To-morrow is the anniversary of our departure from Massachusetts. I hope to dine with General Devens, who has invited me to a dinner-party he gives in honor of the day."

Chaplain Scandlin had been in doubtful health for some time, and he felt that under existing conditions it would be better to return to his old pastoral charge than to remain longer in the army. As early as July 18, Colonel Ward had written to Lieutenant-Colonel Kimball: "I hope Mr. Scandlin will reconsider his determination to come home at the end of the year, as his wife informs me he intends to do. He is one of the few men who have the faculty of making themselves useful in almost any position, and the regiment can ill afford to lose him. The date assigned to his resignation is August 12."

August 8, Lieutenant-Colonel Kimball wrote to Chaplain Scandlin from Harrison's Landing:

"My Very Dear Friend: Having learned with deep regret of your determination to leave the military service of the United States, in which you have served so faithfully for the last twelve months, for the more pleasant and congenial duties of home and your pastoral relations, I cannot forbear to express to you my entire approbation of your course during our connection in this service. We came together

strangers, yet from the first I felt that I could rely upon you as a friend, not only in prosperity, but in adversity. How true were my first impressions I need not state here, but they have been more than realized. Your earnest and hearty devotion to the regiment, both spiritually and temporally, have met with the universal approbation of all who have witnessed it; night and day have you labored in the camp, on the battle-field, by the sick bed, and by your kind words have given consolation to many a brave 'comrade who has passed where war and all its relations are unknown, but where peace reigns supreme. I feel, dear friend, that much of the hearty good-will and harmony existing among the officers and men of the regiment and which does very much towards giving us the high position which we now hold, not only in true estimation of our immediate superiors, but of our own beloved country and state, is justly attributed to your Christian teachings, counsels and advice."

A letter was also sent from the officers as a body, expressing regret at his departure, gratitude for his services, and hopes for his future welfare. After Antietam, October 5, 1862, he was urged to rejoin the regiment by a letter signed by every officer on duty, but his other duties seemed more imperative.

Derby's letters continue: "August 11. We are again under marching orders, i. e., to hold ourselves in readiness to move at two o'clock this afternoon; destination not stated. We do not always march when we receive such orders, but the indications now are quite strong that we are going somewhere. Every one is guessing, and the general impression is that the whole army is going down the James River to Fortress Monroe. . . . The dinner at General Devens' was a very pleasant affair indeed. There were about twenty present, and we spent about four hours in social enjoyment. Mr. Scandlin has at last bid us good-bye. We shall miss him sadly. He went down the river yesterday. The weather is hotter than ever experienced before, but there is not so

much sickness as when we first came here. Flies swarm on us like the plagues of Egypt. They are almost intolerable. We have to blow them out of our tents with gunpowder."

The march down the Peninsula did not begin until August 16, at six A. M. At one o'clock only six miles had been covered. Then came a rest. That night the Fifteenth was on picket duty. On the following day the Fifteenth reached the mouth of the Chickahominy, after a march of about thirteen miles. Here it crossed, August 18, on a pontoon bridge, two thousand feet in length. On the next day the regiment went on seven miles to Williamsburg, the next six miles to Yorktown, the next seventeen miles to Big Bethel, and the next about six miles to Newport News. This march was in pleasant weather and under favorable conditions. The letters continue:

"August 24. We broke up our camp at Newport News, Sunday morning, and marched down to the landing. Monday morning we went on board the steamer 'Mississippi,'—a large, commodious boat, built to run between Boston and New York. This morning we arrived at the mouth of Aquia Creek, and now—three P. M.—the order has just been issued to disembark. There are three regiments on board (about twenty three hundred men), and ours being the last, we may not get off till morning. We shall probably go direct to Fredericksburg, as there is railroad communication with that point. Our voyage has been of great benefit to us, giving us good rest at night, and matted berths, and pretty good fare at table. I expect we have got to go into rough living again, but it won't be as bad as what we have seen. The hottest part of the season is past, and Northern Virginia is not as unhealthy as the Peninsula. Everybody is glad to get out of that swampy desert.

"Alexandria, Virginia, Thursday morning. The first boatload sent ashore at Aquia Creek returned with orders to proceed to Alexandria; and here we are, lying in the stream

opposite the city. We shall probably land during the day."

July 2, a new brigade, under General Nathan Kimball, was added to the Second Army Corps. During August and September one hundred and seventy-five new recruits, mostly from Worcester County, were assigned to the Fifteenth. A considerable number of these never joined the regiment.

The following men were killed or mortally wounded at Fair Oaks:* Company C, Frank H. Fairbanks, Franklin H. Farnsworth; Company D, Edwin Blake (date unknown), William M. Blodgett; Company E, Corporal John Toomey, Luther C. Torrey; Company G, Adelbert L. Brown, June 18; Company H, Francis Hanley, July 27; Company K, Corporal Eli Syminster. As only five were buried on the field immediately after the battle, it is probable that one more of these men may have lived for some time after being wounded, May 31. One more is said to have been mortally wounded in Fox's Regimental Losses. The name of Henry N. Bemis has been by error sometimes included in this list.

From the beginning of the Peninsular campaign to the battle of Antietam the following deaths are recorded in addition to those killed at Fair Oaks: Company A, George H. Gallup, August 6; George F. Newton, June 10; Samuel E. Pratt, June 25. Company B, David Bliss, September 13; George A. Spofford, July 17; John Skerrington, July 29. Company C, Sergeant Edward W. Benson, August 4; William Carter, July 18; Francis E. Smith, July 25. Company D,

*Circumstances connected with the publishing of this work require that this list and others of a similar nature throughout the book should be printed before the Individual Record receives its final revision at the hands of the members of the regiment. Though great care has been used, errors will be likely to occur. If these lists differ from the Individual Record, the latter is to be accepted as final.

Sergeant F. McCambridge, August 8; Lance-Sergeant Walter S. Shaw, July 17; Andrew S. Cobb, August 12; Hollis H. Howe, May 4; Chas. P. Mansfield, June 12; G. O. Pierce, August 1. Company E, Cyrus Larned, September 2; Albert L. Williams, June 13. Company G, Lucius D. Boyden, August 26; William C. Greene, June 30; Daniel Harris, June 30; Cassius M. Wilder, July 20. Company H, Henry M. Engly, July 3; Arnold Mowry, April 24; Franklin Waterman, June 11. Company I, Elisha T. Bigelow, July 7; Company K, Michael Cosgrove, September 3; August Grobitz, June 14; Andrew F. Simmons, April 20; Martin McBride or McBride, April 27.

This gives, including those at Fair Oaks, a total of thirty-seven deaths during this period. The number lost from disability during the same period was ninety-three, the number from desertion eight, the number belonging to the band twenty (discharged per order of the war department), the number of officers from resignation or dismissal, seven. These were Colonel Charles Devens, Chaplain William G. Scandlin, Surgeon Joseph N. Bates, Captain Henry Bowman of Company C, Adjutant George W. Baldwin, First-Lieutenant Newell K. Holden of Company G, and Second-Lieutenant Lyman Doane of Company F. This makes a total loss from all sources of one hundred and seventy-seven. Some of these were paroled Ball's Bluff prisoners who had already been dropped from the rolls as missing in action. This loss was offset by a gain of one hundred and fifty-three new recruits. This number of new recruits must be reduced by uncertain cases, recorded as "never left state," etc. Thus the monthly returns give only one hundred and fifteen as the number of recruits received in September. After the recruits were received, but before the 17th, there must have been, according to these monthly returns, about one thousand men in the regiment, of whom nearly half were absent sick or on detached service, or detailed for other duties on the day of the battle of Antietam.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ANTIETAM CAMPAIGN.

AUGUST 26—SEPTEMBER 22, 1862.

ON the 26th of June, General Pope had been appointed to the command of the united armies of Northern Virginia. This force numbered about fifty thousand men. July 12, General Halleck, called from the West, was made General-in-Chief of the Union forces. Neither Pope nor Halleck had any sympathy with McClellan in his plan of operations against Richmond along the James. During July, Pope's army was advancing along the line of the Alexandria and Orange Railroad with the object of cutting off the railroad connections of Richmond with Southwestern Virginia. General Jackson, who was conducting the campaign against Pope, being hard-pressed, asked Lee for reënforcements. General A. P. Hill's division was sent to him, but Lee felt that he could spare no more troops while McClellan was threatening Richmond from the James. The army of Jackson, thus reënforced, was still inferior to that of Pope, but the transfer of Hill's division helped Halleck to so work upon the fears of the government for the safety of Washington that McClellan's army was called to its defense, August 3. This gave General Lee an opportunity to join Jackson with the force that had been previously required for the defense of Richmond. Jackson had fought Pope at Cedar Mountain, August 9, before the arrival of Lee's main army, and had been obliged to withdraw to Gordonsville. The united armies of Lee and Jackson forced Pope to a disastrous retreat, with its destruc-

tive battle at Manassas, August 29 and 30, and that at Chantilly, September 1.

The troops of General McClellan were withdrawn from his command and sent to stay the advance of the victorious rebels. In accordance with General Halleck's instructions, the Second Corps, which reached Alexandria, August 28, started for Chain Bridge the next day. The Fifteenth was in motion at four P. M., and with a pause of two hours at midnight, went on until it reached its destination. At Chain Bridge a camp was pitched. Here a long-promised rest was expected, but the distant booming of cannon told that a battle was raging, and at three o'clock P. M., August 30, the regiment set out once more and marched to Fairfax. Here there was a rest of four hours, from nine o'clock P. M. to one o'clock A. M., August 31. Then the forced march was continued to Centerville. It rained during the day, and this added to the difficulty of the march. There were many stragglers found along the road, all telling the most woeful stories. The diary of A. B. Yeomans has these entries: "September 1. Brigade went out reconnoitering. Came back at night. Marched all night and got back to Fairfax in the morning." (In this reconnoitering the Fifteenth was not under fire, but it "lost several men who were taken prisoners.") "September 2. Formed line of battle and remained all day. In the afternoon were slightly shelled by the enemy. At nearly dark the column moved back. The rebels brought up their flying artillery and annoyed the rear of our column. The First Minnesota, with one section of artillery, was formed across the road. Our regiment took a cross-road and waited an attack. The enemy's cavalry came upon the First Minnesota, who gave them a volley. They fell back. We rejoined the column and marched until two o'clock. 'Panic.' We bivouacked about two miles from Chain Bridge."

Thus the Fifteenth took part with the rest of the Second Corps in covering the retreat after the battle at Chantilly.

Of these movements and the "panic" spoken of, Surgeon Haven writes: "We were then on the retreat towards Chain Bridge, the column passing on ahead and our brigade covering the retreat. Shortly after, the enemy began shelling us from a concealed place on the left. We moved a little distance and another battery opened on us on the right and behind. We moved on, still in good order, and about dusk the cavalry attacked us. They were received by an ambuscade fire from the First Minnesota of our brigade and thrown back in confusion. A few of our men were wounded by the fire from the cavalry. Our march was continued through the night unmolested, but an unfortunate circumstance occurred on the way. We were going on a road through a dense wood when an over-turned wagon, some unruly mule, or something of the sort, started a panic, and some of our cavalry and other mounted men rushed through our ranks. I was leading my horse at the time, but held on to her, and we were both driven violently into the wood and brush, where the cavalry and some of the infantry on the other side of the road poured a volley into us. The whole affair hardly lasted five minutes, but in that time perhaps between twenty and thirty were killed and wounded." None of the Fifteenth were in that number.

Yeoman's diary continues: "September 3. Crossed Chain Bridge and went into camp at Tenallytown, Maryland. An order was read to us that General McClellan had been reinstated. Great cheering. Camp called 'Camp Confidence.'" This order was greeted with equal joy by the Army of the Potomac as a whole, for McClellan had the love and trust of his old soldiers. "The Army of Virginia," by which name Pope's forces had been known, at this time ceased to exist as a separate organization.

McClellan was now obliged to reorganize the demoralized army, which consisted of Pope's original forces, the reinforcements from Burnside which had been sent to the Army of Virginia, and his old army which he had led on the Penin-

sula. It was necessary to do this and at the same time conduct a most vigorous campaign against a victorious enemy. McClellan's mental qualities and the power of his name among his soldiers helped on the work of reorganization and circumstances compelled a certain degree of vigor in following and engaging the enemy.

The wonderful success which had thus far attended Lee's movement emboldened him to enter upon new plans. He decided to cross the Potomac. He hoped that the people of Maryland would flock to his standard, that the disloyal sentiment in the North would be encouraged, that prestige would be gained abroad, and that some decisive blow might be struck upon the Union army before it had recovered from its retreat. If all these hopes failed him, he still might, as he thought, render an invasion of Virginia, for that season at least, impossible.

By the 7th of September, the whole Confederate army was near Frederick City, but Lee was disappointed in his reception by the people of Maryland. He now moved across the South Mountain range, so that he might be close to his line of communication with Richmond through the Shenandoah Valley and threatened an invasion of Pennsylvania. There was a force of some twelve thousand Union troops in and near Harper's Ferry under Colonel Dixon S. Miles. McClellan urged that the town should be abandoned and Maryland Heights should be occupied; but Halleck insisted on the retention of Harper's Ferry. September 10, Lee made his first movement for the reduction of that place.

Meanwhile the Union army had been slowly moving northward so as to protect both Washington and Baltimore, the Second and Fifth Corps, both under Sumner, forming the center. September 5, the Fifteenth Regiment reached Rockville. A short distance from the town, Camp Defiance was established. Here a considerable number of recruits from Worcester County joined the regiment on the 8th. This camp was left on the same day. By the 10th, the regiment

was within three miles of Clarksburg. On the 11th, it moved on to Hyattstown. Here a small body of rebel cavalry was dispersed by a few shells from Kirby's and Tompkins' batteries. The regiment formed in line of battle and remained through the day. On the 12th, Urbana was reached and on the 13th, Frederick City. Just before the arrival in Frederick, General McClellan rode by the regiment and was greeted with the most enthusiastic cheers.

The brightness of the day, the natural beauty of the region, the charm of the quaint old town and the cordial greetings of the inhabitants combined to fill the hearts of the soldiers with cheer. At four P. M. of this day, Richard Derby wrote: "We have just marched through the city, and are bivouacking in the clover-fields near by. There has been a running fight between our advance of cavalry and flying artillery all day, but several miles from us. We could see the smoke of the cannonading on the mountains across the valley as we came down into Frederick; but it has gone over to the west side now. What the rebels mean by their movements, is a mystery; and of course our movements depend upon theirs; and I cannot tell where we shall go next."

While at Frederick a copy of Lee's official order for the movement of his army on Harper's Ferry fell into McClellan's hands. This would have given a more energetic commander a chance to save the garrison there, and do irreparable injury to Lee's army, but McClellan was too dilatory. He ordered an advance by Crampton Pass and Turner's Gap through the South Mountain range. At each of these passes there was a spirited action on the afternoon of September 14, and both passes fell into the hands of the Union troops. The Second Corps was not engaged, but was in support at Turner's Gap. Just after dark it relieved the line of battle. Thus the way had been opened for the saving of Harper's Ferry, and Franklin's corps was within six miles of that place, when Colonel Miles surrendered with all his garrison. If he had

possessed the courage to hold out a little longer, or if McClellan's army had moved more quickly, this disaster might have been avoided. The same lack of vigor hindered McClellan from attacking Lee's army on the following day, and defeating it in detail.

The special story of the Fifteenth during these three days is one of great hardship. During the night of the 13th, the men were on picket duty. Many of them had little rest during the night, and were obliged to start at seven the next morning, in some cases without any breakfast, on another long, exhausting march. Four P. M. found the regiment at Middletown, but before preparation could be made for supper, it was ordered forward again. At ten o'clock the half-starved and utterly worn out men reached the scene of the day's battle at Turner's Gap. Still there was no rest, for at ten-thirty the regiment was ordered to take the place of the Seventh Wisconsin and was in the front line all night. Yet even here such was the condition of the men that many of them found a little sleep. September 15, the regiment marched through Boonsborough and Keedysville, and then bivouacked.

September 16, a third division was added to the Second Corps. An independent brigade under General Nathan Kimball had formed part of the corps since July 2. The regiments of this brigade and other regiments, new and old, were organized to make a full division, which was placed under command of General William H. French.

Lee had now gathered the greater part of his scattered forces near Sharpsburg, between Antietam Creek and the Potomac, with both flanks on the curving river and with the creek in front, and was awaiting in this position of his own choosing, the attack of the Union army.

September 16, Hooker's First Corps had crossed Antietam Creek by the upper ford and the bridge on the Keedysville road, and had skirmished with the enemy under Hood. Mansfield's Twelfth Corps had followed across the creek during the night.

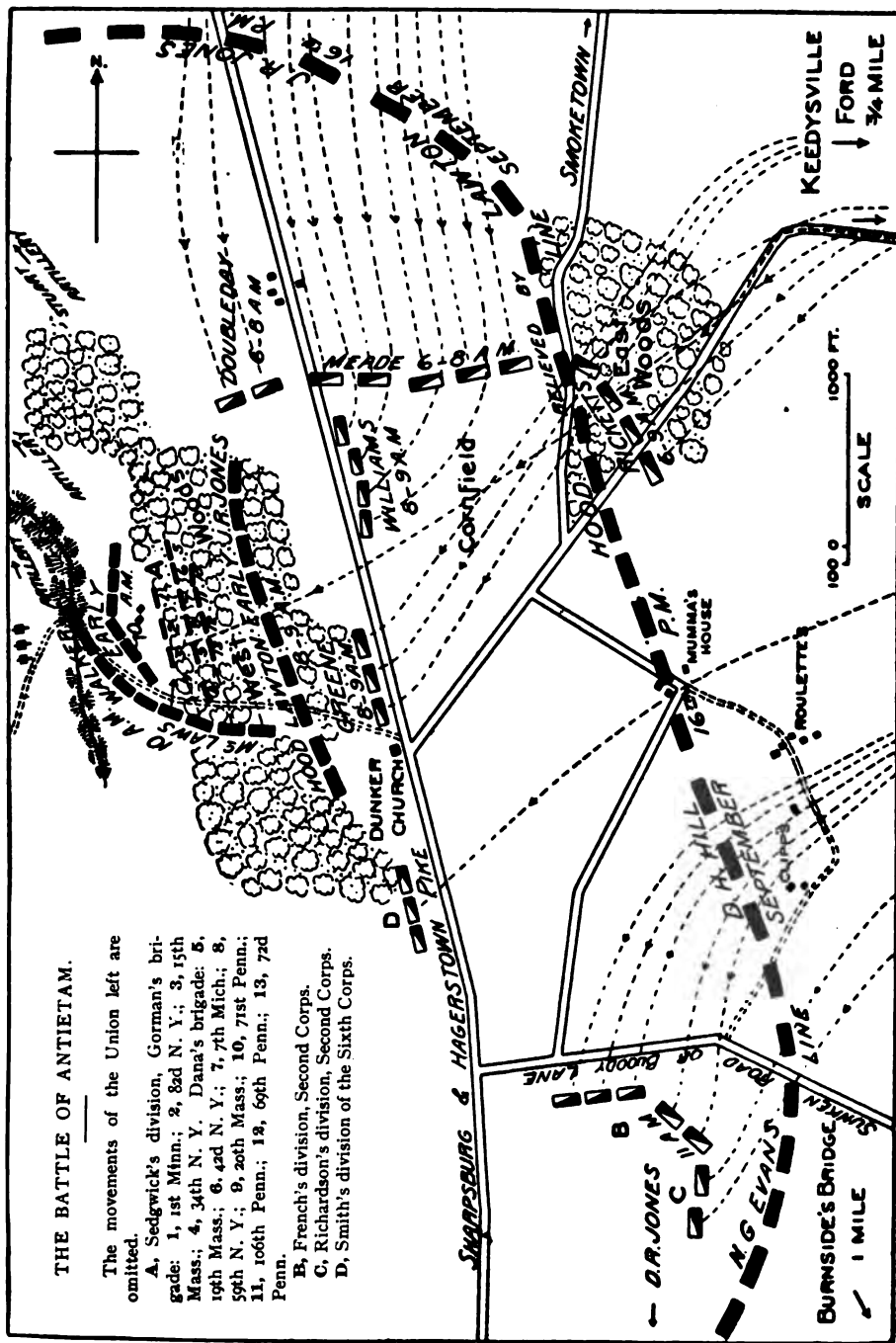
The movements of the Union left are omitted.

A. Sedgwick's division, Gorman's brigade: 1, 1st Mtnn.; 2, 82d N. Y.; 3, 15th Mass.; 4, 34th N. Y. Dana's brigade: 5, 19th Mass.; 6, 42d N. Y.; 7, 7th Mich.; 8, 55th N. Y.; 9, 20th Mass.; 10, 71st Penn.; 11, 16th Penn.; 12, 69th Penn.; 13, 72d Penn.

B, French's division, Second Corps.

C, Richardson's division, Second Corps.

D, Smith's division of the Sixth Corps.



The morning of the 17th opened cloudy and cool. "Thank God," said many; "we have not got to fight beneath a blistering sun." Lieutenant-Colonel Kimball says: "It has been the subject of much remark that troops never went into battle more cheerfully than did ours that morning, so confident were all that the shattered enemy would be driven ere night across the river." At daybreak Hooker advanced against the enemy's left flank. This extended across the Hagerstown turnpike and then parallel to it, as is shown upon the accompanying map. General Hood had been relieved during the evening by Lawton's and Trimble's brigades of Ewell's division of Jackson's corps, and J. R. Jones with the division known as Jackson's own from the same corps. Stuart's cavalry was still farther to the left. Artillery had been placed at various advantageous points by the Confederates. It was upon the line of J. R. Jones, Lawton and Trimble, supported by Hays, that Hooker's attack fell at early dawn. The supreme struggle came at the cornfield between the East and West Woods. Although the three divisions of Hooker, under Doubleday, Meade and Ricketts, succeeded by the most heroic efforts in pushing back the Confederate lines to the Hagerstown turnpike and the West Woods, yet their effective force was well nigh gone before the Twelfth Corps reached the scene of action. Thus ended the first of a series of battles. Had the Twelfth Corps been united with the First in this engagement, it is likely that Jackson would have been overpowered. As it was, he had suffered most terribly. To use his own words: "The carnage on both sides was terrific. More than half of the brigades of Lawton and Hays had been killed or wounded and more than a third of Trimble's."

The second struggle was at right angles to the first along the Hagerstown turnpike north of the Dunker (Dunkard) Church. The exhausted brigades of Lawton, Hays and Trimble had been relieved by Early's brigade of Ewell's division and by Hood's division of Longstreet's corps. Some

of the troops of J. R. Jones' division were still upon the field, and the Confederate artillery was firing most effectively from the hills in the rear. It was against this force that the two divisions of Mansfield, together with some remnants from Hooker's corps, were hurled. The enemy were protected by the fences along either side of the Hagerstown pike and by woods on the west of it which were full of rocky ravines. Here the two armies fiercely wrestled. Though Mansfield fell mortally wounded, yet his two divisions, the right under Williams and the left under Greene, fought on. Greene succeeded in crossing the road and holding for a time a position to the north of the church. But before nine o'clock the Twelfth Corps had been so shattered that its power was utterly gone. Here a brief pause marks the division between the second and third struggle. For a second time the error of sending a single corps against the combined forces of the enemy in a position of their own choosing, had resulted in the destruction of the Union forces without the accomplishment of their purpose, yet it was to be tried once more.

The men of the Fifteenth, together with the other soldiers of the Second Corps, had been called up at about four o'clock. The knapsacks had been packed to leave in the camp. From afar the men had waited with anxious hearts, uncertain of the outcome of the battle, of the movements of which they could now and then catch glimpses through the woods and smoke. Sumner had received orders the night before to be ready to follow Mansfield an hour before daybreak. He was ready at the appointed hour, but while the lion-hearted leader impatiently waited, one after another the death-glutted hours passed by. It was twenty minutes past seven before he received final orders to march. Not a moment was lost. Sedgwick's division moved first in three lines. It forded the Antietam where the water was up to the knees of the soldiers. The Fifteenth was the third regiment in the brigade line, and including the First Company Andrew Sharpshooters, had twenty-four officers and five

hundred and eighty-two men in action. A considerable number of these men were new recruits, but as they marched to their first baptism of fire, side by side with the war-scarred veterans who had learned the lesson of unfaltering courage at Ball's Bluff and on the Peninsula, the spirit of their comrades took possession of their souls, and they moved on without wavering. The list of casualties, which were as many among the new recruits as among the soldiers of more experience, shows that all alike faced every peril of the battle.

After crossing the creek and going a quarter of a mile up a gentle slope, the division was formed into battle lines, in column by brigades. General Gorman's brigade was in advance, Dana's was second, Howard's third. The regiments in Gorman's brigade were arranged with the First Minnesota on the right, the Eighty-second New York next, then came the Fifteenth Massachusetts, with the Thirty-fourth New York on the left. There were between sixty and seventy paces between the brigades as they advanced simultaneously. Before they had gone fifty yards they came under a sharp fire from the enemy's concealed batteries. The three lines moved rapidly forward for about three-quarters of a mile through the East Woods, a noble grove of oaks, cleared of underbrush, then throwing down a fence, they entered the corn-field strewn with the dead and wounded of the earlier conflict, then crossing the Hagerstown turnpike, with Dunker Church to their left, they passed through the West Woods, which the enemy could no longer hold against our fresh attack, to the edge of the open ground beyond. While passing through these woods the Thirty-fourth New York became separated from Gorman's brigade, and found itself on the left of the Hundred and Twenty-fifth Pennsylvania of the Twelfth Corps.

The division had now reached a position more advanced than any other occupied by the Union forces during the battle. It had even gone past the real front of the rebel

line into a gap between the troops which had been opposed to Williams' division of the Twelfth Corps on the right, and those which had been opposed to Greene's division on the left. It had found none of the troops of Hooker or Mansfield in its line of advance in such a condition as to render any efficient aid in an attack on the enemy. French's division of the Second Corps was half a mile to the left and rear, fighting with the enemy at Roulette's and Clipp's farms. Richardson's division, which had been delayed some three-quarters of an hour, was still further away. Sedgwick was practically alone with his three brigades, to meet all that remained of the forces which had withstood the corps of Hooker and Mansfield, and such new troops as could be hurried to that part of the field. Sumner evidently had no clear idea of the position or condition of Hooker's and Mansfield's corps at this time. If it was his purpose, as has been suggested, to fill in the gap between Greene and Williams with Sedgwick, he had failed to make such connections as to protect his flanks.

The three brigades were all facing west in extended lines, with no protection whatever for the exposed flanks. As Gorman's brigade emerged from the West Woods it received a destructive volley from the enemy, who were in front, not more than fifteen yards away, behind a farm-house, a barn, an orchard and stacks of corn. Here were all the troops which were left, capable of further fighting, from the divisions of J. R. Jones, Ewell and Hood, and a portion of D. H. Hill's division. Six hundred yards away to the right and front were the rebel batteries, pouring in "a most terrific fire of grape and canister." During the next fifteen or twenty minutes, the Fifteenth and its companion regiments stood firmly in line and even advanced some ten yards, though men were falling thick and fast. Here a battle-flag was captured from the rebels by the Fifteenth, and it was borne from the field as a trophy. The Fifty-ninth New York Regiment in the second line began firing at the rebels

through the first line, and did as much harm to their friends as to their enemies. It was not until Lieutenant-Colonel Kimball had called the attention of General Sumner, who was riding along behind Gorman's line, to this fatal error, that the firing was stopped. The forty or more rounds of ammunition expended by the Fifteenth at this time did much execution on the rebels, notwithstanding their protected position. One of their batteries was twice silenced by the Fifteenth and the Andrew Sharpshooters attached to it.

If Sedgwick's division had been obliged to contend only with the troops in front, it is probable that the valor of his men might have won the day. But reinforcements, called from the right, now began to pour in to the aid of the exhausted enemy. As Sumner sees men coming from the left, realizing now, when it is too late, that his confidence in his troops and his lack of information concerning the position of the opposing forces have caused him to advance into dangers that even Sedgwick's division cannot successfully meet, he cries: "My God! we must get out of this." He orders General Howard, more by signs than words, for words can be no longer heard, to bring the third line into position to meet the approaching force. But it is too late. A few minutes before it would have been easy to have faced enough troops to the south to have guarded in some measure against just such an attack, but now it is impossible.

The fresh divisions of McLaws and Walker, both of Longstreet's corps, coming from the Confederate center along the rear of their line, fall at once, together with the troops previously upon the field, upon the front, left flank and rear of Sedgwick's division. Even had the blow been given entirely from the front it must have proved irresistible. Striking as it does, the division can use but little of its strength. The regiment on the left of Howard's brigade crumbles and vanishes, and the whole line withdraws. The second line, which is now the rear, stands more firmly, but

its resistance is ineffectual. Meanwhile, Gorman's brigade, with the Fifteenth in the most perilous position on the left, stands "loading and firing as if on dress parade." There is a depression at the left of the Fifteenth. Here the rebels are in a ravine, and with a most murderous fire rake the line. From the rear, too, the thick-coming bullets seek their victims, while from the right and front infantry and artillery pour in their leaden rain with redoubled fierceness. Lieutenant-Colonel Kimball's horse is shot under him. The bearer of the state colors is wounded. Charles R. Frazer, the color-sergeant, seizes them, and bears both the flags in the fore front of the battle with a valor that will win for him a commission. Soon he is wounded, but other hands bear the colors no less defiantly aloft. In less than twenty minutes, more than half the regiment has been killed or wounded, yet the men obey with reluctance the command to withdraw. The movement is made in good order, and, when it has retired about one hundred yards to the right and rear, Gorman's brigade faces about and by a volley checks the advancing foe. Then it moves on once more.

The Fifteenth, under the orders of General Gorman, took its position about five hundred yards to the right of and a little in the rear of its original battle-line. Here, under cover of the artillery, the remnant of the regiment awaited the orders which the exigencies of the battle might cause to be given to it. Fortunately the enemy were not in a condition to follow up their advantage, for other bodies of Union troops now demanded their attention. French's division of the Second Corps, which had diverged from Sedgwick's and had engaged the enemy at Roulette's and Clipp's farms, had succeeded in pushing them back to and beyond a sunken road known as the "Bloody Lane." Soon Smith's division of the Sixth Corps reached the field and filled the gap between Sedgwick and French. Richardson was on the left of French. After a fierce struggle continued by Richardson's troops until noon with varying suc-

cess, at last the Union line, composed of Sedgwick's, Smith's, French's and Richardson's divisions in the order given, from right to left, was established. Slocum's division of Franklin's Sixth Corps had also come up, and it would have been possible for the Union army which had suffered so from fighting in detail, to have renewed aggressive action in mass with a good prospect of success, as Burnside with the Ninth Corps, after five hours of fatal delay, had at last taken and crossed the Stone Bridge over the Antietam on the left at one o'clock and gained the crest at three, and Porter's reserve corps might have been brought into action. But the dismay caused by the losses of the morning, and overestimating the number of the enemy, led to the rejection of the proposal which Franklin made to this effect, and thus the battle was closed.

During the latter part of the day the Fifteenth was stationed in support of a battery on a hill near the house of J. Puffenberger on the Hagerstown pike. On the following day the two armies remained in position with a constant expectation of a renewal of fighting. On the field between the lines lay the dead and wounded. The fire of the skirmishers prevented any efficient steps on either side for the care of these. On the 19th, the Union troops advancing, found that General Lee had withdrawn across the Potomac. After burying the dead and carrying the wounded to the hospitals, the Fifteenth, with the rest of the Second Corps, went through Sharpsburg to the Potomac River, September 22, forded at Harper's Ferry, and went into camp at Bolivar Heights on the same ground occupied six months before. As General McClellan did not follow up his advantage over Lee, the Antietam campaign ended at this point.

General Devens in an address at the dedication of the monument of the Fifteenth at Gettysburg in 1886, said: "At Antietam, when I was moving up with my brigade on the morning after the principal battle, anticipating its renewal, my orderly, George W. Mirick, said to me, 'General Sedg-

wick is wounded lying in a hut near the road.' I jumped off my horse and ran in for a moment. After speaking of his wound, which although it disabled him for a time, was not dangerous, General Sedgwick said to me, 'Your old Fifteenth was magnificent yesterday; no regiment ever fought better.' It certainly was a sufficient compliment when he said in his report that its 'conduct was not different from what it was on all other occasions.'" Captain Church Howe, an aide to the commander of the division, and Lieutenant William R. Steele, ordnance officer of division, were especially commended by General Howard, who commanded the division after General Sedgwick was wounded.

General Devens said at another time: "The Fifteenth exhibited a courage and fidelity more than worthy of veteran troops, for it was worthy of the holy cause which had drawn its men from their peaceful homes."

General Gorman said in his report: "The coolness and desperation with which the brigade fought could not be surpassed."

Lieutenant-Colonel Kimball reported: "My entire regiment behaved most gallantly during the whole engagement, evincing great coolness and bravery, as my list of casualties will show. Although suffering terribly from the fire of the enemy, it was with great surprise they received the order to retreat, never entertaining for a moment any idea but that of complete success, although purchased at the cost of their lives. The order forbidding the carrying of wounded men to the rear was obeyed to the very letter. Of my line officers, without exception I cannot speak in too high praise. They were all at their posts, bravely and manfully urging on their men and equally exposed with them. Those wounded refused all assistance, ordering their men to return to the ranks and do their duty." Major Philbrick and Adjutant Hooper were especially mentioned "for coolness and promptitude."

A member of General Couch's staff in a private letter

wrote: "General Devens is greatly affected with the fate of his gallant regiment. What a magnificent history it has! Its colors have waved in eight battles, its officers and soldiers have fallen about them by hundreds, and the name of the Massachusetts Fifteenth will be forever historic....grandly memorable, so long as suffering and courage are applauded."

The losses of the Fifteenth at the battle of Antietam, that great harvest of death, were far larger than those of any other regiment engaged. From six hundred and six officers and men, including the First Company Andrew Sharpshooters, three hundred and twenty, over fifty-two per cent. were reported as killed or wounded, and twenty-four were missing. This gives a total of three hundred and forty-four. The Twenty-eighth Pennsylvania of Mansfield's Twelfth Corps stood second with two hundred and sixty-six; the Seventy-second Pennsylvania of Howard's brigade, Sedgwick's division, was next with two hundred thirty-seven. There were eight other regiments which lost above two hundred men each, and there were six that lost a greater per cent than the Fifteenth in this engagement. This was a much greater loss in killed and wounded than the Fifteenth suffered in any other battle, and it stands high among the foremost regimental losses in a single day's battle for the Union army in the Civil War taken as a whole. To the number of the killed we may well add a large number of those who were so severely wounded that they died shortly after the battle. Fox in his volume of Regimental Losses in the Civil War, gives the number of killed and mortally wounded as ninety-eight for the regiment alone, and one hundred and eight for regiment and Andrew Sharpshooters. Only three infantry regiments lost more in killed and mortally wounded in a single engagement during the whole war. These were the Fifth New York, at Manassas, one hundred and seventeen; the Fifteenth New Jersey, at Spottsylvania, one hundred and sixteen, and the Forty-ninth Pennsylvania, at Spottsylvania, one hundred and nine. While the loss of the regiment

alone was much greater at Antietam than at Gettysburg, the per cent of loss to numbers engaged was less. Here it was fifty-six and seven-tenths, and at Gettysburg sixty-one and nine-tenths.

Surgeon Haven stated: "A lot of our killed and wounded lay beyond our lines and within those of the rebels. I made several vain efforts to get at them, and particularly to find Tom Spurr. . . . During the night the enemy retreated and early in the morning we went over and found our dead and wounded—an awful sight." Lieutenant-Colonel Kimball wrote of those who were left on the battle-ground: "Almost all the wounded were found in or about a barn near the field, where, as well cared for by the enemy as the circumstances would permit, they impatiently awaited our arrival. The robbed and disfigured bodies of our noble dead were laid by kind hands in the humble graves hastily dug and prepared for their reception."

The bodies of a considerable number of the members of the Fifteenth are still resting in the now beautiful cemetery at Antietam, and here in 1886 and again in 1898 their graves were visited by some of their surviving comrades.

Much the larger portion of the wounded had retired to the rear before the withdrawal of our troops from their advanced position, or accompanied them in their movement. Those whose wounds were most severe were cared for, as far as possible, in the neighboring houses and barns or were removed to the Antietam hospital established at Smoketown, near Keedysville. This consisted of hospital tents and was capable of comfortably accommodating nearly six hundred patients. Here they received the best of care and the most skillful treatment that circumstances could allow. But even thus the horrors of the hospital after such a battle are beyond description. Those whose wounds were more slight, either found their own way or were carried to Boonsboro and on to Frederick, and thence were sent to Washington, Baltimore and elsewhere. Many relatives and friends from home vis-

ited these hospitals seeking those who were dear to them. Some of these were able to cheer the hours of convalescence, others to say a last farewell, but many found that they were too late to do more than care for the bodies of those whose life had already been sacrificed.

The commissioned officers who were killed or mortally wounded were: Captains Clark S. Simonds, Company B, and Richard Derby, Company C; Lieutenants Thomas J. Spurr, Company G, and Frank S. Corbin, Company I; Captain John Saunders and Lieutenant William Berry from the First Company of Sharpshooters. This number is smaller in proportion to that of the enlisted men than it would have been if the regiment had been fully officered.

Captain Clark S. Simonds was born in Groton, Massachusetts, February 24, 1834. His parents moved to Fitchburg in his early youth. He entered the Fitchburg Fusiliers some years before the war broke out. He was among the most eager of the members of that company to offer his services to the country. When John W. Kimball was made major of the Fifteenth, Clark S. Simonds was made captain of Company B by the unanimous wish of the members of the company. He was a most efficient officer. We have seen how he entered the battle of Ball's Bluff, though suffering from an accidental wound; how he was captured there while bravely fighting; how he was for almost four months a prisoner at Richmond. When released he immediately rejoined his company and led it through the Peninsular campaign. Of the events connected with his death, Lieutenant-Colonel John W. Kimball wrote: "On that memorable morning, when the trumpet sounded the advance, well do we remember the coolness and quiet manner in which Captain Simonds moved his men to the front, and with what courage and determination he fought during that terrible engagement, in which, in the short space of less than twenty-five minutes, over one-half of that gallant regiment lay dead or wounded upon the field; with what reluctance he gave the

order to his men to fall back, in obedience to superior officers. He passed safely through that awful storm of shot and shell, to fall by a random shot thrown into the little grove where the regiment was re-forming after having fallen back from their first position; standing in his place just behind his company, cheering them by noble words of encouragement and hope, and regretting the loss of those who had fallen, while the tears rolled down his manly cheek as he looked for those he loved and found their places vacant, a rebel shell came whirling and shrieking through the wood, striking the ground about thirty yards in advance of the line, ploughing up the earth, yet speeding on its mission of death. It struck Captain Simonds directly over the heart, killing him instantly. He fell without a groan, and the last word he uttered was 'Colonel,' addressed to him who was in command of the regiment. His men gathered around him, and with tears coursing down their bronzed cheeks they tenderly bore him to the rear, hoping that he might yet speak to them once more, but no, he was dead."

Captain Richard Derby belonged to one of the old New England families. He was born in Medfield, Massachusetts, October 3, 1834. He entered Lawrence Academy at Groton at the age of fourteen. He was a scholar of excellent ability. He had intended to enter college, but the failure of his health forced him to relinquish this ambition. Later he attended the private school of Rev. Joseph Allen in Northboro, and took a course at a commercial college. He was skillful in the use of tools and had considerable talent in drawing and music. He worked for a time as a salesman for a dry goods firm in Beloit, Wisconsin. He settled upon some government land in Minnesota and built himself a house, where he lived for a year and a half. Work as a salesman in the West and Boston filled up most of the intervening time between 1856 and the opening of the Civil War. When the President's first call for troops was issued, he enlisted from Boston in the Fourth Battalion Rifles. He was at Fort Independence until August, when he received

a commission as second-lieutenant in the Fifteenth Regiment. He was assigned to Company H. His letters, collected in a memorial volume entitled "The Young Captain," have been one of our chief sources of information in regard to the history of the Fifteenth Regiment. From these we have been able to catch many glimpses of his life and character. He was made first-lieutenant November 22, 1861, and captain August 6, 1862. He commanded Company C. The following letter was written to his mother by his friend and subordinate officer, Lieutenant Walter Gale:

"BOLIVAR, VA., September 24, 1862.

"My Dear Madam: I trust that you will pardon my delay in giving you the particulars of that sad event, the announcement of which must have already reached you. Our poor wounded comrades have engrossed so much of our attention that we have not found time to communicate with the friends and relatives of those gone from us to return no more. Even now, it is painful in the extreme, to bring up again the picture of that terrible day. We left camp in cheerful spirits, though with something like a premonition that great events were at hand. I chatted pleasantly with Richard, who was almost a brother to me, and we went forward hand in hand, as it were, as we had often done before. When we approached the enemy, he asked me to attend to the men on the right of the company while he gave orders to those on the left. In a moment heavy volleys were poured into our ranks, and finding myself slightly wounded I sought the shelter of a tree. While binding my wound, I saw the lieutenant cheering on his men in the most heroic manner; it was a scene that I never can forget. Two minutes later he also was laid at the foot of the tree, fatally wounded in the temple. He was quite unconscious, apparently in almost a childlike sleep; and thus, without suffering, he passed from life to immortality. Oh, how sadly did his dear friend, Major Philbrick, and myself gaze upon his fair face! We exchanged significant and sorrowful glances; and, looking at the battle before us, we found ourselves nearly surrounded

by the enemy. Hastily retreating, we were obliged to leave our dead and wounded; but, before this, I had secured everything of value about our dear brother, except his sword and belt; this was so firmly fastened that I could not secure it.

"On the following day, we made three attempts to get across to those who were left behind, but the enemy refused to grant this privilege. On Friday the field was deserted, and so much time had elapsed since the engagement that it was almost impossible to recognize the most familiar faces. Such a great change had taken place that we were obliged to relinquish our desire to send home the remains for interment; and they were buried in a small garden-spot, quite near the scene of action. It is known as the Lucca Place, and is about one mile from the village of Sharpsburg. Any one in the neighborhood will point out the location,—the exact spot is marked by a headboard,—and the proprietor has promised that this, together with those near it, shall be preserved. Yesterday, Major Philbrick and myself, with the aid of a borrowed key (his own being lost), unlocked his valise, and placed in it his watch, pistol, gold ring, and other articles of value. To-day, I have directed this to you at Auburndale, and shall forward it by Adams' Express; and if I can be of any further service to you, do not, I beg of you, fail to allow me the privilege. I had found in him such a genial companion, with so much to love and respect, that I could not quite reconcile myself to the thought that we were parted for this life; and yet I almost longed to be with him, if I might leave such a fair name and glorious record. This line is constantly in my mind, and will always associate itself with his memory:—

'That life is long which answers life's great end.'

"Deeply sympathizing with you in your great bereavement, I am, with much respect,

"Your obedient servant,

"WALTER GALE."

Lieutenant Thomas Jefferson Spurr was the grandson of General John Spurr, the son of Colonel Samuel D. Spurr. He was born in Worcester, February 2, 1838. He prepared for Harvard College in the public schools of Worcester. He was the best scholar in his class at the university, but trouble with his eyes forced him to forego his studies for a while. He finally continued them with the aid of a reader. He received his degree in 1858. He studied law in the office of Devens and Hoar and at the Harvard Law School. He was travelling in Russia when the war broke out. He hurried home, for foreign travel could have no attractions for him when his country was in peril. When he reached home, at the request of Colonel Devens, he received a commission as lieutenant in the Fifteenth and was assigned to Company E, January 1, 1862. In the absence of the captain he was obliged at once to assume command of the company, of which he was for a while the only commissioned officer. April 29, he was transferred to Company G. It was a difficult position, but such were the ability and character of Lieutenant Spurr that he soon won the highest respect of his men and they became deeply devoted to him. He served with distinction through the Peninsular campaign. His brother-in-law, Senator George F. Hoar, has given a description of his closing days, which we copy from the Harvard Memorial Biography:

"He joined his regiment in the fall of 1861. I never saw him again until I was summoned to Hagerstown after the battle of Antietam. He was dressing the line of his company, about nine o'clock of the morning of the battle, the regiment being under a severe fire, when his thigh was struck by a minie ball which shattered the bone. Two of his men came where he lay and offered to carry him to the rear. He ordered them back to the ranks and refused all assistance. The place where he lay was a short distance in front of a wood, to which the regiment was almost instantly compelled to retreat. The ground where he fell was not again occupied

by our troops until after the battle. He lay on the ground where he fell all of Wednesday and through Wednesday night. On Thursday the enemy occupied the ground. Among them was a college acquaintance and contemporary (whom I believe to have been a Major Hale of South Carolina), who treated him with great kindness, caused him to be removed to a farm-yard near by and laid on the ground between two hay-stacks, and gave him a blanket, which we are glad to preserve. Thomas lay in this farm-yard until Saturday, when the ground was again occupied by our forces, and he was then removed to a hospital. On Monday he was taken to Hagerstown where his mother and I, with Doctor Sargent, found him on Wednesday evening. Early the next morning, Thursday, he was carefully examined by the surgeons, who were able, by extracting the splinters of bone from his flesh, to relieve the agony which he suffered since he was wounded, but found his recovery hopeless. He said to me after the examination, 'I suppose you will tell me the result when you think it is best.' It would have dishonored that brave soul to keep it back, and I told him the whole truth. He heard it bravely and cheerfully. He said he hoped his company would be satisfied with him and feel that he had deserved their confidence; that he was not conscious of having had a single thought for himself after the first bullet was fired. He added that he believed he had the confidence of Colonel Kimball. He lay through this day and the next, suffering a good deal, and gradually growing weaker, but with his mind perfectly clear and calm. There is too much of a private and personal nature in the conversations of those two days to make it proper to repeat them here. Doctor Sargent, the distinguished physician who kindly and generously left his pressing professional duties at home to give his dying young friend the benefit of his skill, writes: 'I shall consider myself as more than compensated for any sacrifice I have made, by the elevating and purifying influences of that death-bed,—the death of the Christian patriot; of the excellent son and

brother, whose translation in the clearness of his intellect, and even in the fullness of wisdom, was such as I never before witnessed.' "

First-Lieutenant Frank S. Corbin was born in Dudley, Massachusetts. His father was a farmer and the boy worked on the farm and attended the common schools. When the war broke out he was working in the shoe factory of his uncle, in Webster. He was full of patriotism and enlisted at the first opportunity. He drilled with the boys as one of them, and his ability and popularity won for him the position of second-lieutenant. He was greatly beloved by the men of the company, and his superior officers, Captain George C. Joslin and First-Lieutenant Amos Bartlett, spoke of him in the highest terms. May 21, 1862, he became first-lieutenant. He was very ill with a fever from about June 1 to August 1. His patriotic ardor led him, as a convalescent patient, to the battle-field of Antietam, where he fought most bravely and received wounds of which he soon died. His body was carried to Webster and buried with fitting obsequies.

The names of the men who gave their lives for their country on that fatal day, or died soon after from wounds then received, must be recorded without comment, though each is worthy of the most complete memorial:

Company A—Corporal Franklin Gardner (October 6).

Company B—Captain Clark S. Simonds, George Adams (October 7), John Campbell, Daniel Carpenter.

Company C—Captain Richard Derby, First Sergeant Joseph P. Johnson (October 14), Zadoc C. Batterson, Hiram A. Chambers, George O. Fitch (October 17), John Frazer, Harlow D. Getchell (October 14), Thomas Hastings (September 20), Charles E. Holbrook, John P. Larkin, Waldo B. Maynard (September 24), Robert R. Moses (October 5), Thomas P. Munyan (October 27), George W. B. Sawyer, Leonard M. Towsley (September 27), Charles E. Warren (October 2).

Company D—Corporal E. D. Jordan, Barney Coney,

Silas D. Marsh, Francis H. Noyes, Leander J. Owen, William L. Sholes, George H. Thompson, Melville Walker.

Company E—Sergeant Amos H. Shumway, John H. Curran, Alfred W. Davis (September 22), James H. Davis, Edwin E. Rindge (October 24), Alexander Thompson, Conrad M. Tower (or Conrad Amptaeur), Charles H. Wheelock.

Company F—Sergeant Elisha F. Johnson, Corporal William L. Adams (November 7), Corporal William L. Blood, Corporal Joseph C. Fretts, Corporal John W. Heath (October), Henry R. Bliss, Shepard Brown, William H. Clark (October 1), Benjamin Davis, John H. Hillman, Charles Perry (September 27), Alfred L. Russell, James E. Sargent, William E. Vaneaver (November 5), Justus C. Wellington.

Company G—First-Lieutenant Thomas J. Spurr (September 27), Sergeant Jonathan P. Stow (October 1), Arthur J. Andrews, Asa T. Bryant, George E. Burns (November 15), Harrison J. Clisbee, Orin L. Davis, Benjamin R. Elliott, James Hughes (September 28), Francis H. Marble (November 26), C. I. Merriam, Charles L. Mitchell (October 24), Lewis H. Moore, William E. Morse (December 30), Alfred Snow (October 18).

Company H—Corporal Henry A. Collar, Corporal James B. Fletcher, Andrew Addison, Henry W. Ainsworth, O. W. Batchelor, Samuel Emerson (September 26), Patrick Finegan, Franklin L. Hayden (September 27), Isaac E. Marshall, Charles D. Smith (September 27), George N. Smith.

Company I—First-Lieutenant Frank S. Corbin, Sergeant Edwin L. Parmenter (October 15), Henry L. Amidon, Lucius H. Briggs, George Butler, Henry Butler (November 14), William S. Chapman, Edward L. Day (September 20), Charles G. Foster, Henry Hathaway (September 20), Godfred Reidman (September 30), Aaron Sargent, George R. Stone, Alfred Tourtellott (October), Moses Wood.

Company K—First-Sergeant Thomas Fernald, Adam N. Baker, E. R. Buffum, Thomas Kelley, Thomas Magomery

(October), David Rodgers (December 27), James Shay, Joseph T. Smith, John L. Starrett, Francis F. Young (Nov. 7).

Unassigned—Amos G. Plympton.

This gives a total of one hundred and four, six more than are given in "Regimental Losses." There may be in some cases an open question whether wounds received September 17 caused death.*

The list of killed reported by Lieutenant-Colonel Kimball from the First Company Sharpshooters (attached) was as follows: Captain John Saunders, First-Lieutenant William Berry, John Q. Adams, Joseph S. Ingalls, Marcus M. Parmenter, Warren Snow, Martin V. Strong, Richard A. Van Moll, George Whittemore.

* For explanation and revision of above list, see Individual Record.

CHAPTER VIII.

UNDER BURNSIDE.

SEPTEMBER 18—DECEMBER 15, 1862.

ON the day after the battle of Antietam, only one hundred and seventy-four men answered the roll-call. This number increased as those who had been slightly wounded returned. A passage from a letter written October 5, by W. J. Coulter, from Bolivar Heights, though dealing especially with Company C, gives a general idea of the condition of the regiment as a whole: "Company C at the present time numbers seventeen men for duty, including drummer and bugler. Any one would not recognize in it the 'Clinton Light Guard' of old, who about five months since encamped on these same heights, and almost on the same ground they occupy now. Things have changed wonderfully with them since March last. The company was nearly full then, and each man was confident of at least seeing an end put to this rebellion, if nothing more, by the coming fall. The time when these expectations were supposed to be realized has arrived, and the company (now called the guard, what there is left of it) finds itself encamped on the same old heights, ready for another start, but not under the same auspices, as they look at it. . . . Affairs do not seem to look so favorable to them now as they did last spring. Now, they see a prospect of being in the service during their full term of enlistment; then, six months at the farthest would wind up the rebellion. But you must not think from what I have said that the Clinton boys are discouraged. Far from it. There is as much

determination in them to-day as there was six months since. They have learned to act—not to talk about it; and when the time comes you will find them as ready and willing to do as ever.”

President Lincoln reviewed the troops at Bolivar Heights shortly after the battle. As he passed the Fifteenth, General McClellan, who was riding with him, turned in his saddle and pointed at the colors of the regiment. The old flag had seen such service that it was no longer safe to unfurl it when the wind blew strongly.

The troops were paid and drew clothing while in camp at Bolivar. The need of clothing had become imperative. Surgeon Haven, writing October 12, 1862, says: “We have lain quiet at Bolivar Heights, with the exception of taking our turn at picket duty, though expecting any day to march. Several cavalry skirmishes have occurred and some of our pickets have been carried off, but beyond this there has been no fighting. Over twenty of our poor wounded fellows have died since I left them.”

On the 26th of October the regiment went about two miles up the Potomac between the river and the railroad on picket duty, but came back to camp on the following day. October 27, a statement was made that one company of the regiment was armed with Harper's Ferry rifles, calibre sixty-nine, nine companies with Springfield rifles, calibre fifty-eight, and the Andrew Sharpshooters with Sharp's rifles. On the 30th the advance movement along the Blue Ridge began. The Second division of the Second Corps, temporarily under the command of General Gorman, crossed the Shenandoah on a pontoon bridge, passed around the base of Loudon Heights, and moved nearly to Hill Grove. The regiment encamped in the woods for the night. The next day was spent pleasantly on picket duty up among the mountains. November 1, Gregory's Gap was occupied. Sunday morning, November 2, the regiment marched on and bivouacked in line of battle during the night. The next day Snicker's Gap

was occupied. November 4, the regiment moved on through Paris toward Ashby's Gap. W. J. Coulter thus describes this movement: "Leaving Hancock's division (formerly Richardson's) in possession of the Gap, the rest of the troops moved on about four miles further, driving the rebel cavalry before us, where we encamped in line of battle for the night. The next morning we moved on toward Ashby's Gap, the Fifteenth being in advance. Two companies on the right, A and B, were deployed as skirmishers, and we carefully felt our way along, the enemy silently retiring before us. When within about four miles of the Gap, we formed a junction with the column moving on our left, and as the enemy had apparently made a stand, the troops were formed in line of battle. The right wing of the Fifteenth was deployed as skirmishers, and the left wing supported the right. A few shells were thrown into the woods in front of us, as 'feelers,' and then the Fifteenth, which was deployed, received orders to advance and take possession of the hill, a little to our right, which was done without interruption. The taking of this hill ended the movements for the day. The main support was stationed on the hill and the pickets thrown out about half a mile further for the night. The night passed away quietly. The next morning about nine o'clock we advanced to take possession of the Gap with the expectation of having a skirmish with the enemy before doing so, but the rebels had left during the night, leaving us in possession of Ashby's Gap.

"While our commanding officer, General Gorman, was taking a view of the country from Ashby's Gap, and the troops were resting along the road leading to the Gap, General McClellan and staff passed along to the front. As he passed the Fifteenth, the members of which were looking rather 'rusty' after the two or three days of hard marching which they had just gone through, he said, looking kindly down upon us, 'Boys, are you tired?'"

The regiment stayed until the 6th in the "dirty little

village of Paris" just below Ashby's Gap. After the baggage train had passed through the Gap, Gorman's brigade followed at a little distance to the rear, as a guard. The sutlers who stayed behind at Paris to trade with the citizens were captured by a dash of the rebel cavalry. We find during this march along the Blue Ridge, in Yeoman's diary, italicized but unexplained entries such as "*mutton*," "*chickens*." Is it possible that any of the boys of the Fifteenth could account for these words? J. E. Miner writes: "We never find any young men where we go. They are all in the rebel army. About half the houses which we pass are empty. Poultry, sheep, cattle and hogs are plenty. There are so many hogs that the woods and pastures are full of them."

Gorman's brigade remained in a commanding position only a few miles from Ashby's Gap until the 8th. W. J. Coulter writes: "The wind was very raw on the 7th and the air was full of snow most of the day. You can imagine how agreeable it is to be out in a raging snow-storm night and day, without any shelter more than would be afforded by a sheet spread over the fence with the four corners pinned to the ground." On the 8th, the regiment left "Camp Snow Storm" and moved to Rectortown. After a rest it went on through Salem, marching until two o'clock A. M., when it bivouacked at a little distance from Warrenton. The next day the regiment entered Warrenton and encamped.

On the morning of November 10, the three divisions of the Second Corps were drawn up on the left side of the Centreville turnpike. On the right side was the Fifth Corps. Between these two lines rode General McClellan, taking his last farewell of the soldiers whom he had led so long. General Walker says: "Every heart of the thirty thousand men was filled with love and grief; every voice was raised in shouts expressive of devotion and indignation; and when the chief had passed out of sight, the romance of war was over for the Army of the Potomac."

November 12, Lieutenant-Colonel Kimball, who had

commanded the regiment so wisely and valiantly since the promotion of Colonel Devens, April 27, 1862, was made colonel of the Fifty-third Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers. He did not leave Falmouth until November 24. Of his services in connection with the Fifteenth it is impossible to speak too highly. The noble name it won in the Peninsular and Antietam campaigns was due in no small measure to his leadership. Through his care the men were always kept in the best possible condition for meeting all demands which might be made upon them. When the hour of action came they had perfect confidence that as far as he was concerned, all their valor and energy would be directed into such channels as to bring about the greatest result with the least sacrifice. Moreover, he had endeared himself to each man personally by the interest he felt in them as individuals. One who knew him well throughout his service in the regiment, says: "Lieutenant-Colonel Kimball is one of the bravest, kindest, truest men God ever made in his own image. He is well worthy to lead the Fifteenth; I have no terms for the high respect in which I hold him; brave as a Spartan in battle, . . . kind, with a warm, active benevolence; courteous, with a home-bred workman's courtesy, that shows a delicacy of spirit and truth of taste not surpassed in the drawing-room; firm, prompt, able, he is one of nature's real noblemen, an officer of whom the old commonwealth must be proud."

The command of the Fifty-third came to him unsought, and he would much rather have remained with his own Fifteenth, had not duty compelled him to go elsewhere. His feelings toward the Fifteenth are well shown in a letter he wrote to friends who presented him with a horse and equipments when he assumed his new command: "If the noble old regiment (the Fifteenth) which I have had the honor of commanding for the past seven months has earned and won for itself a name worthy of record and a place in history, it is to them that the honor belongs, and not to me,

for it was the united determination of officers and men to do their duty at all times and under all circumstances, that has earned for them honorably and justly the name and fame which they have acquired. I need not remind you of the suffering they have endured without a murmur, and the great sacrifice of life in behalf of their country, which has so fearfully thinned their ranks. It has been very great indeed; the dust of many a brave soldier of the Fifteenth hallows the hillsides and valleys of Virginia and Maryland, and that ground, though held by traitorous hands, is still sacred and dear to us; and by the memories of the noble dead now sleeping their last sleep far away from their friends and homes, let us pursue this war more vigorously and earnestly to an early and successful termination; by the memories of the heroes who fell at Ball's Bluff, Fair Oaks and Antietam, as well as of those who have passed away none the less honorably, because not in battle, we must, we will conquer."

At a later date he said: "This ended my official connection with the Fifteenth Regiment, but although my membership had ceased, my love for and deep interest in the regiment and my old comrades continued unabated to the end of their service. I anxiously followed their movements, and proudly watched, as though still one of them, their unwavering devotion to the cause and flag they so loyally followed, heartily rejoicing in their successes and sincerely mourning with them in their reverses, losses, sufferings and misfortunes."

It is sufficient to say of Colonel Kimball's nine months' service with the Fifty-third Regiment in the Têche Country and at Port Hudson that it was no less worthy than that with the Fifteenth. He was made brevet brigadier-general United States Volunteers, March 13, 1865. Since the close of the war he has served the state in various high positions with equal ability and faithfulness. General Kimball, at this date of writing, is auditor of the State of Massachusetts. He has always taken the deepest interest in all that con-

cerns the welfare of the surviving members of the Fifteenth Regiment.

November 13, Major Chase Philbrick was made lieutenant-colonel, and Captain George C. Joslin, major. In the continued absence of Colonel Ward, the command of the regiment devolved upon Lieutenant-Colonel Philbrick.

General Willis A. Gorman, under whom the Fifteenth had been brigaded since the removal of General Stone, when General McClellan was superseded by General Burnside in November, 1862, was ordered to report to General Curtis at St. Louis, Missouri. He was assigned to the command of the District of Arkansas. Here he served efficiently until 1864, when he resigned on account of ill health. After the war he devoted himself to public and private service. He died May 20, 1876. Men of the Fifteenth sadly missed his brave, rough, whole-souled leadership. General Alfred Sully, who had previously been commander of the First Minnesota, succeeded to the command of the brigade. A member of his old regiment says of him: "Brave and most capable in action, yet always careful to guard against any foolish or needless sacrifice of his men; blunt, yet kind in manner; humorous and playful as a boy; always manifesting implicit confidence in the honor and good conduct of his men and relying on that as the only restraint, while never relaxing any necessary discipline, he was perhaps more generally beloved by all than any other of our regimental commanders." He was no less esteemed as a brigade commander.

A new regiment, the Nineteenth Maine, which had just been recruited, had been added to the brigade. It had reached camp at Bolivar Heights, October 4. The veterans were always inclined to have a little sport with new recruits. W. J. Coulter relates the following incident: "Scattered over the ground which the Nineteenth Maine selected as their camping ground were a few shells, some of which were filled. The boys did not seem to know the 'nature of these

animals;' some of them went to work and constructed fire-places out of a few scattered around. Just as their camp-fire got nicely to burning, whang! went one or two of the shells, causing the boys who were gathered around to beat a hasty retreat to the rear, and alarming the whole camp. It was their first experience, and one of them said 'he'd rather have a cannon go off by him than have a shell burst;' he thought the shell made the loudest noise."

General John Sedgwick, who was wounded at Antietam, never returned to the command of the division, but as soon as he was able to rejoin the army, he was placed at the head of the Sixth Corps. He was succeeded in the command of the Second Division by General Oliver O. Howard. As we have already seen, General Gorman assumed his duties during some weeks of absence, and as Howard was soon promoted, his actual command of the division was brief. He was known to the division as the "Christian soldier." The prayer-meetings which he had every morning in his tent for staff officers, and the rebukes which he administered to the men for swearing, are frequently noted in the soldiers' letters. His kindness and efficiency rendered him an excellent commander.

There was a change, too, at the head of the corps, for General Sumner was given command of the Grand Right Division, composed of the Second and Ninth Corps, while Major-General Darius M. Couch became commander of the Second Corps. Darius M. Couch was born at South East, Putnam County, New York, July 23, 1822. He was graduated at West Point in 1846. He served in the United States Artillery, 1846-1855. He was commissioned colonel of the Seventh Massachusetts Infantry, June 15, 1861. He was mustered as brigadier-general United States Volunteers in August, 1861. He served with great distinction in the Peninsular campaign at the head of the First Division of the Fourth Corps. He was made major-general, July 4, 1862. General Francis A. Walker thus compares Couch with

Sumner: "The oldest corps commander of the army was succeeded by one of the youngest. Sumner was of magnificent presence; though never arrogant or unkind, the consciousness of high rank showed itself in every lineament and every movement; though not boastful, he was never backward in self-assertion, whether for himself or his troops. Couch, on the other hand, was a slight man, of singularly quiet demeanor, whose unaffected modesty found a natural expression in every tone, look and gesture; who shrank from every form of display, and could scarcely tolerate a staff large enough to do the daily work of his headquarters in camp or in the field. Sumner had a daring, adventurous disposition, which could hardly bear to take account of obstacles; Couch possessed a strongly conservative temper, which led him to carefully scrutinize every project that involved a possible collision with the enemy, and to take unwavering pains to gain an advantage or avert a peril. But when the battle was once joined the two men were as much alike as ever were father and son, in their indomitable courage and impetuous energy. The caution of his temper never led the younger soldier to exaggerate the numbers of the enemy or to distrust the valor and endurance of his troops. When he had done all that in him lay to prepare for action and insure success, he went into the actual conflict without an apprehension of defeat. Our great war brought out a wonderful wealth of manly vigor; but in all the armies of America, on either side, rode no man across the bloody spaces of the battle-field more calm and resolute. Danger never depressed or dulled his faculties. On the contrary, it gave just that degree of stimulus which brought them into their keenest activity; and those only truly knew the man who heard his voice and looked into his eyes in the crisis of some terrible fight."

General Ambrose E. Burnside was personally liked by the soldiers of the Army of the Potomac, but the doubt concerning his ability to command such an army and the

indignation at the dismissal of General McClellan led to a deep feeling of mistrust, which augured ill for the success of his campaign.

On the 15th of November, the Second Corps again began its forward movement. The corps moved in heavy-marching order in three columns, one in the road and the other two through the fields on the left and right. Howard's division was on the left. The first day carried them past Warrenton Junction, the next two days brought them to within half a mile of Falmouth on the banks of the Rappahannock. Here they encamped in the woods. The pleasant weather that followed and the abundance of fuel made the soldiers fairly comfortable. But Thanksgiving day was cheerless. One of the soldiers says: "We spent most of the day standing around the camp-fires telling what we should have for dinner if we were at home. Our dinner on that day was chiefly salt pork and hard-bread. We had the same for breakfast, and for supper some looked into the bottom of their haversacks, while others warmed up what was left from their dinner." In the last letter of Surgeon Haven's which has been preserved we read:

"Near Falmouth, Va., November 27, 1862.

"We are opposite Fredericksburg. Its rebel pickets and ours within talking distance. The movements of the people and soldiers in the city can be distinctly seen. We have been expecting a great fight every day, but in the meantime the rebels have erected more batteries and are largely increased in numbers, and I do not see how we can cross the river without great loss of life..... This is Thanksgiving day and the pleasantest weather we have had for some time. It is hard work to get any eatables here, but we have been saving a turkey for the day."

A letter by a member of the regiment states: "For some time previous to the battle we had been unusually busy building log cabins, under the impression that we were to spend the winter on the east bank of the Rappahannock

Many of us had completed buildings on which we had bestowed labor and thought enough, at least, to have constructed a home for a life-time." In a letter written from this camp, Joseph E. Miner thus describes the way in which beans were baked here: "We parboil them and then put them in iron pails a little larger than a water-pail. We dig holes in the ground and brick or stone them up on four sides. A fire is built in one of these holes and kept going until it is very hot. The live coals are taken out and the pails of beans are put in. Boards are put over the holes and dirt is thrown upon the boards. The beans are left in over night and in the morning they are as good as those that have been baked in an oven."

When General Burnside resolved to move toward Richmond by way of Fredericksburg, he asked General Halleck to have pontoons at Aquia Creek ready for him on his arrival at Falmouth. If they had been ready, Fredericksburg and the surrounding heights might have been occupied with little or no resistance. But Sumner's Grand Right was obliged to wait from the 17th to the 25th before they appeared. The river was fordable under somewhat disadvantageous conditions. Sumner wanted to cross at once in this way, but Burnside did not think it best. Meanwhile the rebels were receiving such reënforcements that any advance would be attended with great loss of life and doubt of final success. When the boats did arrive, it is said that Burnside did not feel that it was wise to advance under the existing circumstances, but was at last, after a long delay, forced to do so by the pressure brought to bear upon him from Washington.

On the evening of December 10, the artillery, one hundred and forty-seven guns, was placed along the left bank of the river in such positions as to best protect the crossing of the forces. At daylight the beginning was made. E. J. Russell writes: "The morning was warm and delightful for December and the troops were in the best of spirits; the

scene of the general breaking up of the camp was exciting in the extreme.....After a short, two-miles' march, our brigade was halted back of the hills northerly from the Lacy House, and remained in that position until four P. M., and while there we listened to the terrible firing.....None of us can ever forget that artillery fight. It lasted for six hours."

Another writes: "Here and there we caught glimpses of a little puff of thick smoke that rapidly dispersed itself in the clear cold air of that winter's morning along the hills over the river, and a moment after came the well-known whiz! bang! and flutter, that we had learned to know so well on the Peninsula and at Antietam. It told us that our foes were awake and ready for us. Presently we took up our position under cover of a hill directly opposite to the upper part of the town, and there we lay all day, listening to the quick, heavy boom of the cannon, that swept back and forth across the valley, and echoed and rolled and echoed back again, until we seemed breathing an atmosphere of sound."

The rebels could not oppose the crossing of our troops, for the town and the region along the river banks was commanded by our artillery. The stone-walls, the cellar-holes and rifle-pits near the stream were, however, filled with sharpshooters who hindered the building of pontoon bridges. The Seventh Michigan and Nineteenth Massachusetts swiftly crossed in the boats and drove out the sharpshooters there. The Twentieth Massachusetts followed in boats. The bridge was now quickly built and the rest of Hall's brigade crossed, but it was already near dusk. The Twentieth Massachusetts gallantly cleared the street which leads from the bridge to the city.

From the report of Captain Charles H. Watson which includes those of Lieutenant-Colonel Philbrick and Captain John Murkland, we learn that there were two hundred and eighty-seven men and sixteen officers present in the Fifteenth Regiment and the Andrew Sharpshooters attached to it.

"About sundown," this report says, "we took up our line of march in the rear of the Eighty-second New York, and crossed the Rappahannock where we formed a line of battle, our right resting upon the left of the bridge, our line extending along the bank of the river, covering the Thirty-fourth New York which was in our advance." Only Howard's division of the Second Corps was able to cross that night.

While the men were spending the night here by the river bank an amusing incident occurred. E. J. Russell tells the story. "Some of the most venturesome began foraging in the houses and yards near the river bank, and soon was heard in the company, in a soft whisper, 'Honey!' What are shot and shell, fatigue, or sleepiness, when such dulcet whisperings were sounding in the ears of hungry men? Soon in they come. 'Lieutenant, have some honey. Free as water. Look and see how white and nice! Isn't this a treat?' and many other muffled ejaculations. Now, honey can be taken up very successfully in December; not so in June, and bees were supposed to be perfectly harmless in winter, and they are, unless taken to the fire. Alas! the sequel. After the contents of a hive or two had been distributed among the men, and we have turned in by the camp-fire to get a short rest before daybreak, up starts Amasa Kimball: 'Jerusalem! I'm bit! No 'taint nother; it's them pesky bees. Mighty! there's another!' when off come pants, drawers and socks, double-quick. Up starts another. 'My gracious! there's a pin sticking into me!' A general routing up, some swearing, some laughing; honey placed out to cool, haversacks turned inside out, clothing brushed, and the tired soldier sinks to sleep to dream of hornets and Jersey lightning (which he found two days later)."

Sully's brigade, together with those of Owen's and Hawkins', were ordered in the morning to carry those parts of the town from which the enemy had not been dislodged on the preceding night. The report continues: "The next morning we received orders to march up the street, the First Minne-

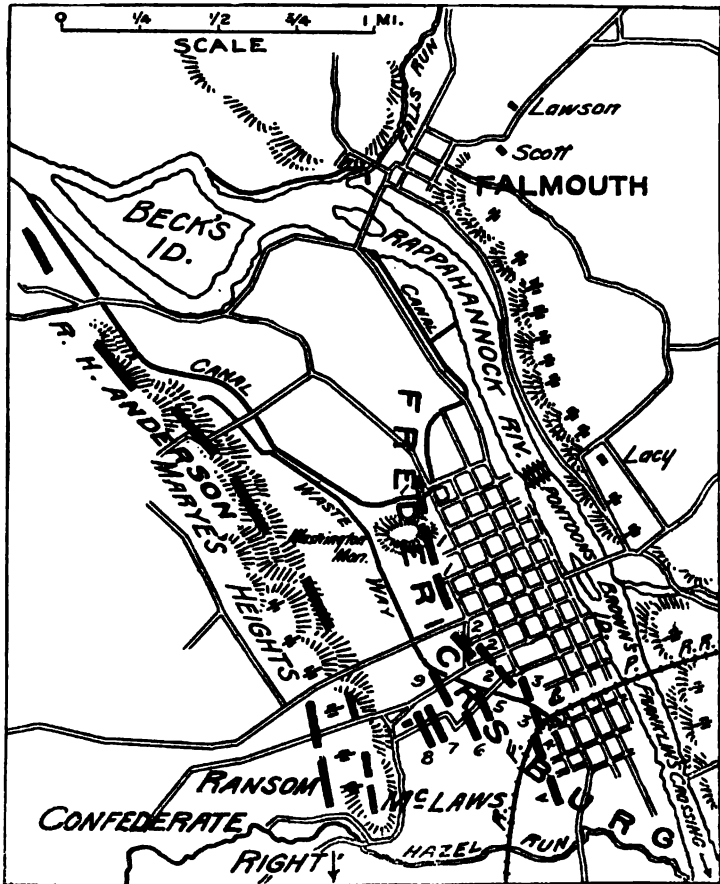
sota leading. After advancing one square, we filed to the right and marched towards the outskirts of the town, where we formed a line of battle, covering the First Minnesota. Orders came to throw out a company of skirmishers. Company A, under command of Lieutenant Jorgenson, was detailed and duly posted. While taking their position they captured three rebel prisoners, who were forwarded to the brigade commander. We then received orders from the general commanding to move. Here Major Philbrick assumed command. We moved one square to the left, and formed a line of battle on Princess Anne Street. Company B was here detailed as a support to Company A. At dark, Companies C, H and G were sent to relieve Companies A and B, under command of Captain John Murkland of Company G."

"When we arrived in front of the Gordon place," E. J. Russell writes, "and while standing in place, rest, an old darkey very cautiously put out his head and then dodged back, repeating the operation two or three times, until he gained confidence and found that he was not to be eaten by the abolition soldiers. Just then General Sully went up to the piazza and tried the door, which he found locked, and, after trying two or three windows was just in the act of going in, when one of the soldiers sung out: 'Look out, there, Sam, somebody's going to break in there.' The old darkey looked at him and us with the most comical expression, and very modestly said, so that we could all hear, 'Well, I suppose dey will. Some of dese chaps is privilege characters.' Coming from one who probably knew not the rank of the intruder, the unintended joke and the manner of its delivery was irresistible, and was followed by a shout in the regiment."

The whole of Sumner's Grand Right had crossed the river before the end of the 12th. Franklin's Grand Left had also crossed lower down. Hooker's Grand Center still remained on the north bank. Some of the men of the Fifteenth slept that night on feather beds for the first time for eighteen

months. A hundred or so were taken from the houses and placed in a row and on these rested some three hundred soldiers fully equipped, boots and all. The report of the regiment further states: "Companies C, H and G were relieved the next morning at nine o'clock by two companies of the Nineteenth Maine. The remaining companies of the regiment were sent to the relief of the First Minnesota as pickets. These companies were soon called in, when the regimental line was formed on Fauquier Street, the right resting on the corner of Princess Anne Street. We were here ordered to relieve the pickets of Colonel Owen. On our march, which was a double-quick step, a shell from the enemy passed through our lines, killing Surgeon S. F. Haven, Jr., and wounding color-sergeant, color-corporal and surgeon's orderly. The regiment halted in the road near the front, when the lieutenant-colonel commanding went in search of the pickets to relieve and was at this time wounded by one of the enemy's sharpshooters. Captain John Murkland of Company G, the senior captain present, took command, and finding the regiment was exposed to the enemy's sharpshooters, they having already wounded many of our men, he moved the regiment to the left of the road, under cover of the hill. We were here ordered to remain by an aide of Colonel Owen, though exposed to a heavy fire from the enemy. While here, Hazzard's battery took position on the crest of the hill, and, being in want of men to manage the pieces, they called on Captain Murkland for volunteers. This call was quickly responded to by ten privates, although the battery was under a heavy fire from the enemy's sharpshooters and batteries. We were soon ordered by General Howard to the front. We went up the road and took our position on the left of the First California, Colonel Morehead, where we remained until one o'clock the next morning, when we were relieved by a battalion of regulars."

Thus with comparatively slight loss the Fifteenth passed that terrible 13th of December when so many thousands fell.



THE UNION RIGHT AT THE BATTLE OF FREDERICKSBURG.

The Union troops were not massed in the attack as in the map, but followed each other at intervals. The house in front of 8 was known as the Brick House.

- 1—Whipple. 2—Sykes. 3—Griffin. 4—Getty. 5—Humphreys.
6—Sturgis. 7—Hancock. 8—French. 9—Howard.

When that day's sun went down the planless battle had been valiantly fought and the useless slaughter had been fully consummated. Recall the story. Across the wide plain swept by the deadly fire of artillery, up the slope against impregnable ramparts, held by nearly eighty thousand of the veteran soldiers of Longstreet and Jackson, our troops were recklessly sent by single divisions. The heroic daring of our men contributed to their destruction no less than the paltriness of their numbers. The thick mists of the morning were scarcely breaking when at ten o'clock, from Franklin's Grand Left, Meade's division began its advance against Jackson's corps. Through the withering fire it passed, slowly at first, pausing to overcome obstacles; at last, gathering power and speed with movement, it penetrated the rebel line only to be driven back after a loss of forty per cent., by the overwhelming forces which poured in upon its flanks. The support of Gibbon's division and a portion of Birney's availed only to cover the retreat. It was afternoon, when from the Grand Right, French's division of the Second Corps, supported by Hancock's, was hurled against Longstreet's forty thousand, securely intrenched on Marye's Heights. The rebel cannon ploughed great furrows in the unwavering line, but on it went with Kimball's brigade in front, until it was within one hundred and twenty-five yards of that fatal stone-wall behind which the rebel infantry stood in the Telegraph Road. No human prowess could go further through that sheet of bullets winged with death. Resolved not to lose a foot that has been gained, the living lay down among the dead at the farthest point of advance, some within forty yards of the wall. Then came the Third Brigade and then the Second to meet with like repulse. Though those brigades of French had lost twelve hundred men in the vain struggle, still Hancock, undaunted, sent his three brigades in quick succession to attempt the impossible, and two thousand as heroic men as God ever made were swept from his ranks. Howard's brigades, led by Owen,

Hall and Sully, were ordered to go to the crest of the hill, but General Couch, fearing that the victorious enemy might take the offensive, changed his purpose, and sent Hall to the right and Owen to the left, while Sully's regiments were held near the town as a support in case of need. It is not necessary to dwell on the unprecedented valor of the batteries of Hazard and Frank, on the unavailing efforts of Sturgis of the Ninth Corps, of Carroll of the Third Corps, of Griffin and Humphrey of the Fifth Corps. It would be merely a repetition of loss upon loss. When night made an end of the battle some twelve thousand men were either killed or wounded or missing, and nothing had been gained.

E. J. Russell thus speaks of the closing hours of that day: "After it seemed that any further attempt to take the position was useless, the order to the Fifteenth was given to move to the front, and I well remember the feeling I had was one akin to a forlorn hope; but when we went up the road and deployed into the field near the brick house, I remember General Walker saying: 'Here's the Fifteenth Massachusetts. Go in old Massachusetts, there is plenty to do.' Over the dead and wounded to the forefront. Every moment we expected a volley. But as soon as we were in line of battle a sudden stillness came over the field. It was just at dusk, and scarcely a shot was fired after. The ground was literally covered with the dead and wounded, and the groans of the latter were interspersed with the cry of 'Water,' 'Give us some water,' 'For God's sake, take me out of this.'"

It was not until the night of the 15th that the bewildered Burnside could make up his mind to withdraw his troops to the northern bank of the river. Watson's report tells the work of the Fifteenth during the 14th and 15th: "We retired to our old position on Princess Anne Street, where we remained until nine o'clock the next morning. The brigade then took up its line of march, the Fifteenth leading, and halted, the right resting on the railroad, and there remained until eight P. M., when we received orders to report to

Colonel Morgan of the First Minnesota. We marched to the front and relieved a battalion of regulars, our right resting on the left of the First Minnesota, all resting on the left of the road. During the night the regiment was occupied in throwing up rifle-pits, and all of the next day was kept close to the ground by the enemy's sharpshooters and batteries, which wounded many of our men. We were not relieved from picket, but were ordered by the general commanding the brigade to report back to our old camp."

A soldier writes December 15: "The longest day I ever knew. We were on picket for thirty hours in succession, and this whole time we had to lie on our faces to keep from being shot by the enemy."

Some of the regiments broke and run under this fire, but the Fifteenth did not yield, and it might have been said of it as General Sully said of its companion regiment, the First Minnesota, on the same day, "The Fifteenth Massachusetts never runs." It was about eleven o'clock P. M. of the 15th that the regiment recrossed the river. The passage of the river was effected without loss and the troops camped in their old position.

The loss of the Fifteenth in this movement as a whole was four killed, twenty-five wounded and two missing. Among the killed was Surgeon Samuel Foster Haven. Charles L. Caswell, William Matthews and Sylvester Oakes were, it is said, all killed or mortally wounded by a single shot of the enemy. Among the wounded, Lieutenant-Colonel Chase Philbrick, Adjutant I. Harris Hooper and Lieutenant Adoniram J. Bradley.

Samuel Foster Haven, Jr., the son of S. F. Haven, was born in Dedham, Massachusetts, May 20, 1831. Before he was five, his mother died. When he was eight he went to Worcester to live. He was prepared for college in the public schools of that city. He was graduated from Harvard College in 1852. He received his degree as Doctor in Medicine in 1855. He studied two years in Europe. He prac-

ticed for a short time in Boston, but went to Worcester in 1858. He made a specialty of diseases of the eye. He was a student by nature, a man of the broadest culture and most accurate scholarship. He showed marked ability as an author and when he entered the army he left an important work nearly ready for the press. He was commissioned assistant surgeon of the Fifteenth, August 5, 1861, and on the departure of Surgeon Bates he was made surgeon, July 21, 1862. We have had frequent occasion to quote his letters and these have revealed much of the spirit of the man. His service at Ball's Bluff, Fair Oaks and Antietam were characterized by valor and gentleness, no less than by professional skill. His superior officer, Surgeon Sherman, wrote of his conduct at Fredericksburg: "Witnessing his self-exposure at the battle of Antietam, I had, as Medical Director of the Second Division, detailed your son, in a written order, in event of battle, to repair to the division hospital, and give his services there instead of in the field with his regiment. When I communicated this order to him, he evidently felt disappointed. He expressed a strong choice to go wherever his regiment went; and when the column to which the Fifteenth Massachusetts was attached was about to pass over the bridge in front of Fredericksburg, he was expostulated with, and reminded of the previous order; but he asked as a special favor to be allowed to go with his regiment, and said that as soon as the fight was done he would return to the hospital and remain there." He was wounded in the leg by a shell on the 13th. His leg was amputated, but he never recovered from the shock.

Doctor Morrill Wyman said of him in an address read at the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Medical Society, June 17, 1863: "One, yet in early manhood, an only child, inexpressibly dear to his father, a scholar, learned in his profession, his mind improved by foreign study, responded to the call of the country. Always faithful, chivalrous, dauntless, almost reckless of his life, he believed with Baron Percy

his place of duty to be wherever a soldier fell; ready with instant aid for the wounded, he was ever in the thickest of the fight; he fell at his post. What more could we ask? He is held in grateful remembrance by his fellow soldiers who admired his humane bravery, and by his friends who knew the kindly qualities of his heart. What more could we wish?"

The following lines were taken from a poem which appeared in the Worcester Spy in his memory:

"With skillful touch he turned away
Death's wishful hand from wounded men,
But when was done that doleful day,
The living laid him with the slain.

"Thy hurt to heal, O native land!
What mortal might, he did and dared;
And when all service of his hand
Seemed not enough, his heart he bared,

"And laid his life upon thy hurt,
By losing all, to make thee whole."

CHAPTER IX.

WINTER AND SPRING AT CAMP FALMOUTH.

DECEMBER 16, 1862—JUNE 10, 1863.

DURING the weeks which followed the battle of Fredericksburg the Army of the Potomac in general, and the Fifteenth Massachusetts in particular, were in a state of discouragement and demoralization never equalled at any other time during the war. The promotion of Lieutenant-Colonel Kimball, the absence of Colonel Ward together with that of Lieutenant-Colonel Philbrick, Major Joslin and Adjutant Hooper, the lack of a chaplain and the death of Surgeon Haven, left the regiment without field officers and with a limited staff, and the number of line officers present for duty was far too small. Under such conditions it is no wonder that the general feeling of the army should exist in an exaggerated form among the meagerly officered men of the Fifteenth.

Sergeant David M. Earle's diary, omitting personal matters, has the following entries during the next month: "Friday, Dec. 19. Captain Rockwood assumed command of the regiment. The rest of the Ball's Bluff prisoners returned. The regiment was called up at one o'clock to cover a party working at the river.—Sunday, Dec. 21. Visited the Massachusetts Thirty-sixth. We passed the general hospital. They were burying the dead and amputating limbs.—Wednesday, Dec. 24. To-day we had a great review by General Sumner. It was a poor show.—Thursday, Dec. 25. Christmas day. Sergeant Ball and I took horses and rode to the Massachu-

setts Thirty-sixth and Tenth.—Friday, Dec. 26. The regiment went on picket. Things look dark, with no prospect of brighter times.—Saturday, Dec. 27. The regiment did not come in until nearly noon. In the afternoon we had guard mounting.—Monday, Dec. 29. During the night orders came to be ready to move at twelve hours notice. During the day all was bustle and confusion but nothing important took place.—Tuesday, Dec. 30. No movement to-day. Everything remains quiet.—Wednesday, Dec. 31. To-day we were mustered for the last two months' pay. Amasa Walker called on us during the operation. A very cold day.—Sunday, Jan. 4. A beautiful, cool day. The regiment went out on picket.—Monday, Jan. 5. The regiment came in about noon and immediately went out to a review by General Sedgwick. It was a big thing.—Friday, Jan. 16. The regiment went on picket. About noon orders came to move. This evening the order was countermanded. A cold, windy day.—Saturday, January 17. The regiment came in at noon, just in time to be too late for the review by General Burnside.—Sunday, Jan. 18. Captain Wood was dishonorably discharged. It created quite a sensation throughout the division.—Monday, Jan. 19. Captain Wood's discharge was read on dress parade. Captain Wood was serenaded by the men of the regiment.—Tuesday, January 20. Captain Wood left the regiment. He made a speech before leaving, and it was a good one. The boys gave him three rousing cheers."

The case of Leonard Wood needs a more detailed statement. His wife was dangerously sick, and he applied for a ten days leave of absence and obtained the approval of all intermediate officers till it reached General Sumner's headquarters. The paper was returned "disapproved," with some general remarks appended that no family exigency could be urgent enough to relieve an officer from his duty. Captain Wood felt that the duty he owed to his family imperatively demanded his return home; therefore he forwarded his res-

ignation, which was approved at all intermediate headquarters, "but was sent back by General Sumner with an order dismissing Captain Wood dishonorably from the service." Everyone who was associated with Captain Wood knew him to have been a brave, conscientious and faithful officer. The general feeling of the army was such, however, that the resignation of officers would have been alarmingly frequent if the most stringent measures had not been taken to restrain this tendency. At any other time the resignation would have been accepted without question, but in the then existing circumstances the individual was sacrificed for what was esteemed the good of the whole.

General Burnside had made plans for a movement by which he hoped to turn the flank of the enemy, and on December 30, this movement had actually begun, as we have seen from the record in Earle's diary, December 29, when a dispatch from President Lincoln forbade Burnside to begin active operations without informing him. Thus all the preparations which had been made went for naught, and the general sought a personal conference with the president. It was January 19, before the army could be made ready for motion again. It was intended to cross at United States Ford on the morning of the 21st. The weather since the battle of Fredericksburg had been excellent up to this time, but on the night of January 20, a terrible storm came on and the roads were rendered impassable. Thus the army of Burnside was stuck in the mud, while Lee massed his forces to oppose the passage of the river. As advance was impossible, the Union army tried to return, but even this could not be done until corduroy roads had been built. As Sumner's Grand Right had been encamped in a position visible to the enemy, while it was hoped that a movement of the Grand Left and Grand Center might escape their notice, it was arranged that Sumner should not move until the rest of the army had reached the southern bank of the river, and that then he should cross directly to Fredericksburg. Thus the

Fifteenth escaped the discomfort and misery of the "Mud Campaign."

Turning once more to Earle's diary we read: "Thursday, Jan. 22. A cold, rainy day. Orders came this noon to be ready to move at a moment's notice.—Friday, Jan. 23. This noon the army moved back into its old camp, feeling rather used up. They were all covered with mud and not a few of them swore at the luck.—Sunday, Jan. 25. Captain Rockwood received his discharge and Captain Murkland took command of the regiment. Surgeon Monroe reported for duty.—Monday, Jan. 26. Regiment on picket. Reported that General Hooker is in command of the Army of the Potomac."

The retirement of General Burnside gave great satisfaction to the soldiers, and the appointment of General Hooker to the command tended to restore a feeling of confidence which had been lacking since Fredericksburg. The title of "Fighting Joe Hooker" indicates the impression of the general which prevailed in the army and in the country at large. It was, however, as an inspector and organizer that Hooker did his best work for the Army of the Potomac. The morale of the army was restored and its effective strength greatly increased. It was under his command that the use of the trefoil as a corps badge was begun. The color used by the Second Division was white. On this same 26th of January, General Sumner retired from the army on account of his increasing infirmities. Within three months he died at his home in Syracuse, New York.

The diary continues: "Tuesday, Jan. 27. Lieutenant Prince was appointed acting adjutant.—Wednesday, Jan. 28. Snowed hard all day and evening. Captains Murkland and Eager and Lieutenant Prince were summoned to appear before a court of inquiry, to answer charges against the regiment, touching its loyalty and discipline.—Friday, Jan. 30. The regiment was paid off to-day. Major Baird of the Eighty-second New York took command of the regiment.—Sunday,

Feb. 1. An order came granting furloughs to soldiers.—
Tuesday, Feb. 3. Cold day and night. Commenced making
out report of the absentees of the regiment for Joe Hooker.
The new colors came for the regiment."

In this connection, a self-explanatory letter written a few
weeks later by Colonel Ward is inserted:

"CAMP NEAR FALMOUTH, VA.,

"February 22, 1863.

"*Hon. Waldo Lincoln, Mayor, Worcester.*

"MY DEAR SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the
receipt of your note of the 14th inst., informing me of the
action of the City Council, and hasten to reply.

"'The old flag,' the stars and stripes which were presented
to the Fifteenth Regiment by the ladies of Worcester and
which have been through so many battles and never yet dis-
graced, have been sent, at the request of the state authorities,
to Boston, and in return we have received new ones. It
would have been our choice to have returned the national
flag to the fair hands that made it, for they were preëmi-
nently entitled to it, and there the torn and tattered emblem
of our nationality would feel more at home, where it would
receive the hearty congratulations of its nearest friends.

"They are a curiosity to behold; still one cannot look
upon them without a feeling of pride mingled with sadness,
proud of the honorable position they have always taken in
every battle; sad to think of the many brave and noble dead
that have fallen beneath them. The regiment was slow to
part with them, but they had become so mutilated that they
had not been unfurled for a long time, except in battle, and
then only as a sign of defiance, a challenge for supremacy to
a treacherous and unscrupulous foe. Inasmuch as the flags
are now in possession of the state, the regiment is not inclined
to dictate as to their final disposal, but any arrangement the
city government can make with the state authorities will be

perfectly satisfactory to the regiment. With many thanks for your kindness, I have the honor to remain,

"Very truly yours,

"GEORGE H. WARD,

" *Colonel Fifteenth Mass. Vols.*"

These flags are still kept by the state, and may be seen at the state house.

"Wednesday, Feb. 4. The coldest day I have seen since I enlisted. The regiment was inspected by Major Macy of the Massachusetts Twentieth.—Thursday, Feb. 5. A cold, stormy day and rainy evening. About four o'clock this morning the regiment was called up to go on picket. They turned out at five o'clock and moved at six. They returned at four o'clock, just in time to save getting wet. Colonel Ward and Major Joslin returned. Colonel Ward takes command of the brigade, and Major Joslin of the regiment."

E. J. Russell says of the condition of the regiment at this time: "No general in the army had such a personal hold upon the men as General McClellan. Whether that confidence was misplaced or not we will not discuss here, but his removal was the cause of discouragement and demoralization in the army, and it was felt in our regiment, and the failure of Burnside at Fredericksburg augmented it, and through the months of January and February, especially after the attempt known as the Mud campaign, both officers and men were sour and continually grumbling. Our best officers were upon the sick list or wounded, and the patriotic thermometer marked several points below zero; but when Ward, Joslin and Hooper returned and some of the old members from Ball's Bluff and Antietam came back, the old spirit revived and never again left it until the end of its term of service."

With the resignation and honorable discharge of Captain George W. Rockwood, the last of those who were captains in the regiment when it left Worcester, had gone from their companies, for Captain Charles H. Watson had resigned and

been honorably discharged January 21, 1863. Two of those who had been captains, Chase Philbrick and George C. Joslin, remained as field officers; two had died in battle; the other six, including Rockwood and Watson, had resigned. Nor were any of those who had gone from Worcester as first-lieutenants, longer with the regiment, for Amos Bartlett, who had been commissioned captain, May 21, 1862, had resigned January 7, 1863. Two of these lieutenants had been detached to the Signal Corps, one had died, four had resigned from their lieutenancies and three had resigned after having become captains. Of those who were second-lieutenants when the regiment left Worcester, two, Lyman H. Ellingwood and Charles H. Eager, yet remained as captains. Of the others, three had died and four had resigned.

In addition to Lyman H. Ellingwood and Charles H. Eager, the captains with the companies at this time were John Murkland, Walter Gale, Hans P. Jorgensen, Albert Prince, Adoniram J. Bradley and Edward J. Russell. These men, and the lieutenants also, who were then in service, were men who had risen from the ranks on account of merit. It is a somewhat peculiar fact that not a single line officer in the regiment had received his commission for the position he was holding February 1, 1863, before the battle of Antietam, September 17, 1862. Thirteen commissions to line officers were issued to date from the month of January alone. A better body of officers than these has seldom fallen to the lot of any regiment, and the remarkable improvement which took place in the condition of the Fifteenth during the next few months was due no less to them than to the field officers, Colonel Ward and Major Joslin.

As we have already noted, Colonel Ward had been absent from the regiment since Ball's Bluff, and had remained at his home in Worcester for a year. He wore an artificial leg, but his wound had not healed satisfactorily and was still a source of trouble. During most of this time he had been engaged in recruiting. Not only had he sent recruits to the

Fifteenth and Forty-second, but the Thirty-sixth and Fifty-first had been in a large measure the results of his efforts. For the next five months he knew no rest, but kept alternating as circumstances demanded, in command of the brigade and the regiment, and in both positions found great need of hard work.

Major George C. Joslin was a native of Leominster, born August 19, 1839. He came of military stock, being the youngest son of Major Elias Joslin who was for many years a member of the Massachusetts Militia, and served during the War of 1812 for coast defense. He was educated in the schools of Leominster. He went to Worcester to live when he was sixteen years old, and became a dry goods clerk there. He had belonged to the City Guards for three years, and in 1860 had been fourth-lieutenant. He went out in the Third Battalion Riflemen under Major Devens as second-lieutenant. At Colonel Devens' desire he was made captain of Company I of the Fifteenth. He was wounded at Antietam in the arm, and was commissioned major while a convalescent at home on a furlough. This commission was granted at the request of Colonel Ward and Lieutenant-Colonel Philbrick. Both of these men knew and appreciated his ability as a disciplinarian. As Colonel Ward served for a considerable portion of the next five months as commander of the brigade, and Lieutenant-Colonel Philbrick was incapacitated for service by ill-health and the wound he received at Fredericksburg for most of the time previous to his resignation, April 16, 1863, the duty of bringing the regiment once more into a good state of discipline and feeling devolved in a large measure on Major Joslin. How well this task was done, the work of the regiment in the campaigns that followed amply showed.

Of Lieutenant-Colonel Philbrick, Colonel Ward wrote, March 5: "Lieutenant-Colonel Philbrick just arrived. He is a little lame, but is feeling well." March 28, he adds: "He has gone to Washington on a four days' furlough. He is con-

siderably used up. He is a man of iron constitution and is the last man to cry, 'Hold, enough!'—April 14: "Lieutenant-Colonel Philbrick has tendered his resignation. He has been unfit for duty for several days. He cannot get well here, and rather than ask for a furlough, has applied for a discharge. He is a very valuable officer." His discharge was dated April 16. From Ball's Bluff to Fredericksburg he had been foremost in every danger. He commanded the regiment from the promotion of Lieutenant-Colonel Kimball until he was wounded at Fredericksburg. Without fear, overflowing with enthusiasm for his work, keen and resourceful, he was a natural leader of men. In his resignation the regiment met, as Colonel Ward states, "a most serious loss." He afterwards held for many years a prominent position on the state police and detective force. He was at one time city marshal of Lawrence. He died November 30, 1893. Maj. Geo. C. Joslin succeeded him as lieutenant-colonel, April 17.

In a letter, written February 6, Colonel Ward says: "So here I am finally again with the old Fifteenth, which looks as well as I expected. The boys were much pleased to see me. Things are taking a new turn and good order and good feeling will prevail again. I arrived here about noon while the regiment was at the river on picket duty. I rode down to see the boys and met them returning to camp about half way there. I reported soon after my arrival to General Howard, who was apparently delighted to see me, and immediately issued orders putting me in command of the brigade. It is General Gorman's brigade, the best in the service. The Fifteenth looks so differently I should not have known it, if I had met it accidentally. There is but little sickness. The men are looking exceedingly well, what is left of them.

Sergeant Earle's diary continues: "Saturday, Feb. 7. The men left for home with their furloughs.—Wednesday, Feb. 11. Preparations were being made for a grand inspection and review of the brigade by Colonel Ward, but the storm prevented.—Friday, Feb. 13. The regiment on

picket.—Saturday, Feb. 14. This morning a list of promotions for the regiment came in.—Monday, Feb. 16. We had a battalion drill, and a good one, too. Made arrangements for a new house. Engaged team to go after it.—Tuesday, Feb. 17. A snowy day, and towards night it rained quite hard. Could not go after my new house.—Thursday, Feb. 19. Another rainy day. Captain Ellingwood in command of the regiment.—Friday, Feb. 20. This morning we had a guard mounting, a 'big bull.'—Saturday, Feb. 21. I had the good luck to get lumber for my house.—Sunday, Feb. 22. When I woke up this morning I found to my great surprise a foot of snow on the ground and a hard storm raging. It snowed until sundown, and was very cold. Grand jollification in honor of Washington's birthday.—Monday, Feb. 23. I commenced building my new house; labored hard.—Tuesday, Feb. 24. Worked on my house.—Wednesday, Feb. 25. Succeeded in getting my house nearly completed.—Friday, Feb. 27. The regiment went on picket.—Saturday, Feb. 28. The regiment came in from picket and was mustered for pay. Took up quarters in my new house."

Colonel Ward wrote, March 5: "We have had a grand review today by General Hooker. Nine brigades of infantry were out, besides artillery and cavalry. It was a splendid sight. Our brigade behaved itself finely, and I had reason to be proud of it.—March 12. General Sully has returned and taken the brigade. The regiment has now a complete set of field officers present, which has not been the case before since the battle of Ball's Bluff.—March 18. I was corps officer of the day yesterday, and was on horse-back a good portion of the time. I went the entire picket line of our corps from right to left, making about eighteen miles. My headquarters were at the Lacy house on the bank of the river, opposite Fredericksburg. From where I was, I could converse with the people in Fredericksburg. The rebel pickets are posted thickly all up and down the entire river

as far as I went. The Lacy house was one of the finest houses in all Virginia, and furnished magnificently, but now it is a complete wreck. Washington's mother was buried just across the river, and I could easily see the monument." Though suffering much from his leg, he says: "I don't want to go home until the war is ended, and then go with the old Fifteenth."

In Sergeant Earle's diary we find: "Tuesday, March 17. This afternoon heavy and rapid cannonading was heard on our right which continued for a number of hours. Toward night the firing ceased, and everything became quiet. (Supposed to be cavalry raid.)—Wednesday, March 18. This afternoon we played a game of ball with the New York Thirty-fourth, and beat them.—Thursday, March 19. This morning we had a battalion drill, and a good one, too.—Saturday, March 21. A snowy day. This morning quite heavy musketry on our left. Supposed to be a rebel raid." During March and April ball playing is frequently mentioned in the diary. The game played in those days was the old-fashioned round ball. Practice games inside the regiment occurred almost daily, and there were several great games with the New York Thirty-fourth. Our boys were so successful that the captain of the New York team gave up the contest with the confession that if they "had been playing for nuts his men wouldn't even have had the shucks." The interest taken in these games in the army as a whole almost rivalled that taken in the races, sparring matches and cock-fights of Meagher's troops.

The following extracts are made from the letters written by Joseph E. Miner during the month of March: "We had a good time yesterday on picket. We were close to the river. We could see the rebels, and they could see us. They sent across little boats made of cornstalks. They sent over a Richmond paper, and wanted us to send one of our papers in return. We did not speak to them, as it is against orders.....Two men have to go out each morning to cut

wood for the regiment. Wood is not very plenty around us now, although when we first came here there was nothing but woods. We have to go two miles away from the camp to get it. Since the woods have been cut down we can see the city from our camp; it is only about a mile away in an air line.....There is little sickness in the regiment. Most of the men seem happy. We are living first-rate. Joe Hooker takes better care of his men than Burnside did, but I expect we shall have to fight to pay for it.....We do not have windows in our houses, for we make the roofs with our tents, so the houses are very light. The sides are built of logs and the dirt banked up against them, so it is very warm. As we have fireplaces, the houses are comfortable."

Turning once more to Earle's diary: "Tuesday, March 31. Woke up and found it snowing hard. It was very cold.—Wednesday, April 1. This morning about four o'clock we were called up to form a line of battle, supposing the rebels to be nearly down upon us. We remained up until daylight, and nothing of much note took place. It proved to be a great April fool.—Friday, April 3. This afternoon we had a brigade review by General Gibbon, our new division commander."

General O. O. Howard had been assigned to the command of the Eleventh Corps. General John Gibbon who succeeded him had done valiant service at Fredericksburg, and was a most efficient commander.

Colonel Ward was made very indignant by a proposal for consolidating regiments which was brought forward at this time. As the morning report of the regiment for April 9 showed that there were still six hundred and seven names on the rolls, without including the Andrew Sharpshooters, the need of consolidation was less pressing than it afterwards became. Colonel Ward wrote, April 14: "Dr. Munroe looked at my leg today, and told me I was unfit for active service. Camping out in the rain he thought especially bad for it. I don't want to resign." April 23, Colonel Ward

went to Washington to have his leg examined. April 26, he wrote: "I feel now more keenly than ever the loss of my leg, for I am forced to believe that I cannot endure active service."

Again turning to Earle's diary: "Thursday, April 9. This afternoon at dress parade appointments were read and the assignments made.—Friday, April 10. Lieutenant Henry C. Ward [a brother of Colonel Ward] took command of Company F, E. J. Russell command of Company D.—Saturday, April 11. This morning I commenced my duties as second-lieutenant of Company I. Was on dress parade in command of the company.—Sunday, April 12. We listened to the funeral sermon of Lieutenant Spurr, read by Colonel Ward.—Monday, April 13. The regiment was inspected by Captain Hale of the Nineteenth Massachusetts.—Tuesday, April 14. This forenoon orders came about moving which created considerable excitement and talk. Saw General Hooker ride past.—Thursday, April 16. Enjoyed myself playing ball with the New York Thirty-fourth. Senator Wilson of Massachusetts was present at dress parade.—Friday, April 17. The Andrew Sharpshooters left our regiment."

The First Company Andrew Sharpshooters had now been attached to the Fifteenth for more than a year. Through the Peninsular campaign, at Antietam where the gallant Captain Saunders fell, at Fredericksburg, in the camp and on the march, the company had shared the fortunes of the regiment. From April 17 to August 11, 1863, it was attached to the Second Division, Second Corps headquarters, and on the latter date it was attached to the Twentieth Massachusetts. In all, this company had on its rolls the names of two hundred and thirty-three officers and men. Of these, seventeen were killed in battle, twenty-two died of wounds and disease and sixty-four were discharged for disability. The most severe loss of the company was at Antietam, where it shared the disastrous fortunes of the Fifteenth Regiment.

A private of the Fifteenth Regiment was condemned

April 12, 1863, to be deprived of two months' pay, and "to be marched through the regiment once a day for six days with the word 'skulker' in large letters posted on his back." The number of such cases in the Fifteenth was much smaller than in most regiments.

Earle's diary further states: "April 18. This morning Lieutenant-Colonel Philbrick left the regiment for home, discharged.—April 22. Paymaster King arrived to-day.—April 24. Major King finished paying the regiment. The boys had a time all through the regiment. Great demand for orders on the sutler.—April 27. Orders were read on dress parade to be in readiness to move in the morning.—April 28. All the troops around here but our division moved at sunrise, up the river. We remained to do picket duty.—April 29. Twelve men were detached to serve in 'A,' First Rhode Island Battery."

April 27, this order was issued: "Whenever camps are broken up preparatory for the march, the kindling of bonfires, the burning of straw or rubbish, unusual noise or cheering or any other acts by which the enemy may be apprised of the movement, are strictly forbidden.

"GENERAL GIBBON."

As the Fifteenth took comparatively little part in the Chancellorsville campaign, its story may be briefly told. A demonstration for the purpose of deceiving the enemy was made lower down the Rappahannock as early as April 21, but the first real movement was not made until the 27th. On that date the Fifth, Eleventh and Twelfth Corps proceeded toward Kelly's Ford, which was twenty-seven miles above Fredericksburg. By the morning of the 29th, these troops were across the Rappahannock, and by the afternoon of the 30th they had forded the Rapidan and concentrated at Chancellorsville. Meanwhile the First and Third Divisions of the Second Corps had gone to United States Ford, and as soon as Couch learned that the Rapidan had been crossed, he also went over the Rappahannock, so that these two

divisions of the Second Corps bivouacked on the night of the 30th within a mile of Chancellorsville.

During the three days in which these brilliant movements were being effected by the right wing, the left wing, composed of the First, Third and Sixth Corps and the Second Division of the Second Corps under General Sedgwick, so manœuvred below and opposite Fredericksburg that General Lee was unable to determine what the plan of Hooker might be. After Chancellorsville had been occupied, the Third Corps was detached from the left and sent over the Rappahannock at United States Ford, to unite with the Fifth, Eleventh, Twelfth and part of the Second Corps. Twelve thousand cavalry under Stoneman had been sent around to destroy Lee's connections and cut off his retreat.

The right wing pushed forward on Friday beyond the wilderness around Chancellorsville and gained a position on a ridge with open ground in front. This was a position peculiarly adapted for handling to advantage both wings of the army. At this point, some unaccountable madness seized the commander, and in spite of the most earnest remonstrances of his subordinates, he ordered his hitherto successful troops to withdraw from this ideal battle-ground to the tangled thicket from which it had just emerged, a thicket where surprise would be easy, where the effective force of a large portion of his army would be lost and where coöperation between the parts would be well nigh impossible. From this time on, Hooker's management was marked by hesitancy and weakness, which resulted in the defeat of his mighty army by a much inferior force.

On Saturday, May 2, while Lee engaged the attention of the Union troops from the front, Stonewall Jackson made a concealed movement with a force of twenty-six thousand men, so as to fall on the extreme right of the Union line, where the Eleventh Corps stood under command of General O. O. Howard. At a little after five P. M. Jackson had reached the point for which he was aiming, and falling upon troops,

who were surprised and were defectively arranged for meeting such an attack, he swept them before him in utter rout. A simultaneous attack, which McLaws had made on the left, was repulsed by Hancock's division of the Second Corps, especially through the able leadership of the youthful Colonel Nelson A. Miles. By dark, Jackson's advance had been stayed by the Third Corps, Hay's brigade of the Second Corps and Pleasanton's cavalry force. It was here that Stonewall Jackson received wounds which resulted in his death.

As Reynold's First Corps had been withdrawn from the left wing under Sedgwick and had already reached Chancellorsville, notwithstanding the demoralization of the Eleventh Corps, Hooker still had a force greatly superior to that of Lee. On Monday morning he determined, however, to withdraw from Chancellorsville toward the river, so as to cover the fords. During the day there was continuous aggressive action on the part of Lee, but Hooker allowed half of his troops, fighting most heroically, to suffer defeat from overwhelming numbers, while the other half stood unengaged within immediate call.

Leaving the right wing, let us return to the left, under General Sedgwick. As early as April 28, some of his troops had crossed the Rappahannock some three or four miles below Fredericksburg, and from that time on to May 2 a part of his force was on the south side of the river, but Gibbon's division of the Second Corps remained at Falmouth.

Earle's diary contains the following record: "May 1. Turned out before light and prepared for a move. About eight we were ordered to guard a part of the New York Thirty-fourth, they having mutinied. Quite an excitement prevailed until about noon, when General Gibbon made a few remarks to them and they concluded to take up their arms again. During the whole day we were ready to move, but no orders came, and night finds us here in our old camp. Heavy firing kept up on the right during the day, and about

dark it was almost one continual roar." Among "the remarks" of General Gibbon, it is said that he told the men of the Thirty-fourth that if they did not obey his commands, he should order the guard, that is, the Fifteenth, to fire at them, and no one doubted he would do it.

The reason for the "mutiny" of the Thirty-fourth New York is to be found in the fact that many of the men claimed that their term of service expired May 1. As General Alfred Sully reported that it was "not in his power to enforce discipline in his command," he was relieved by General Gibbon. Thus Colonel Laffin of the Thirty-fourth New York commanded the First Brigade in the movement across the river. It was decided by a court of inquiry that the special order of General Gibbon relieving General Sully was not warranted by the facts of the case, but Sully never afterwards returned to the command, but was assigned to duty against the Indians in Minnesota and Dakota.

As the First and Third Corps had gone to Chancellorsville, Sedgwick had only his own Sixth Corps and Gibbon's division of the Second Corps, when at eleven P. M., May 2, he received orders "to cross the Rappahannock at Fredericksburg immediately upon receipt of the order, and move in the direction of Chancellorsville." He was also ordered "to attack and destroy any force on the road." As General Sedgwick had the Sixth Corps already on the south side of the river, upon the Bowling Green Road, he advanced from there and ordered Gibbon to construct bridges and cross near the Lacy house. The Sixth Corps, after a little skirmishing, had occupied the town before Gibbon had crossed, but the heights beyond were held by the rebels. The report of Major George C. Joslin, who was in command of the Fifteenth at this time, reads:

"I have the honor to report that at eleven o'clock on the night of the 2d instant, I received orders to have my command in complete readiness to move at a moment's notice, with muskets loaded. At about midnight, the regiment took

the position assigned it (at the head of the column), and marched to the rear of the Lacy house, opposite the city of Fredericksburg, and remained at rest until sunrise. The call for twenty-five volunteers for special service was promptly met and the men furnished.

"Soon after sunrise, the regiment marched, left in front, across the pontoon bridge into the city of Fredericksburg, and stacked arms in a street running parallel with the river, and to the right of the city. From this position the regiment marched to the right, across an open plain, commanded by the earthworks of the enemy. The enemy now opened upon the column with their artillery with very accurate aim, but the men marched steadily and without disorder, although shells were bursting directly above their heads. My command marched as far to the right as it was possible to go, as a bridge, which crossed the canal at this point, had been destroyed. Remained in line of battle awaiting orders, the men having excellent cover. Two companies were ordered forward to feel the enemy, and, having discovered the position and force of the enemy, returned without loss, although several shots were fired at them.

"Upon the evacuation of the rifle-pits by the enemy, caused by the success of our forces on the left, I was ordered to return to the city, and recrossed the before-mentioned plain, again under artillery fire. Marched through the city and to the heights beyond, just occupied by our forces. After a short rest, ordered to return to the city and await orders.

"At three-thirty P. M. ordered to recross the river and support a battery [A, First Rhode Island Artillery] which was placed in position to protect the upper pontoon bridge. My command has remained in this position until date, awaiting further orders.

"The loss sustained by my regiment was very slight, being but two men slightly wounded. Some prisoners were captured by my men and sent to headquarters. No property

was lost save that belonging to the wounded men, and nothing captured from the enemy.

"The officers and men of my command behaved well, both on the march and under fire, and at the close of the day no men were absent or unaccounted for."

At dusk of the 4th, Companies A, B, E and G went into the rifle-pits above and below the bridge to cover its removal.

Lee, confident that Hooker would not have the wisdom or courage to make an offensive movement with his forces at Chancellorsville, boldly sent a strong force against Sedgwick, who now had only the Sixth Corps. Sedgwick, though unassisted by Hooker, had fought grandly at Salem Heights, and though he met heavy losses, was able to withstand the enemy. On the 4th, it seemed that he would be crushed by an overwhelming force, but fortunately the attack of the enemy was delayed, and during the night of the 4th he recrossed the river at Bank's Ford. Hooker, who had done no fighting since the 3d, withdrew on the night of the 5th to the north bank of the river, and thus the campaign of Chancellorsville was ended.

The Fifteenth remained near the bank of the river until the 8th. Earle's diary continues: "Friday, May 8. This afternoon we moved our camp back one-fourth of a mile from the river, into a very pleasant place near the railroad.—May 11. This morning I was appointed acting adjutant of the regiment. Lieutenant-Colonel Joslin and Major Hooper commenced the duties of their respective offices.—May 13. News came to-day of the death of Stonewall Jackson.—May 17. Prayer-meeting at the Lacy house.—May 18. This afternoon we had a battalion drill.—May 19. This afternoon we had a division drill by Paddy Owens, near the Phillipps house. It was a tiresome affair.—May 23. This afternoon we had a review of our brigade, near the Phillipps house.—May 27. Had a battalion drill this afternoon. Colonel Ward arrived from Washington.—May 28. This afternoon we had a brigade review by Colonel Morehead, Major Hooper com-

manding.—May 29. A hot, dusty day. Our division was reviewed by Major General Hancock. Colonel Ward on duty."

Lieutenant-Colonel Joslin had gone home on a furlough. Colonel Ward wrote on the 29th: "Here I am again with the regiment opposite Fredericksburg. We have a very nice place back of the Lacy house, in full view of Fredericksburg and all the rebel works. They and we are drilling every day with only the river between us." The colonel speaks of the neatness of the camp and of a visit from Ex-Chaplain Scandlin, June 4. Rev. William G. Scandlin was at that time connected with the Sanitary Commission, and was afterwards captured by the rebels at Gettysburg.

The diary: "June 2. Had a division fight this afternoon.—June 3. The regiment was paid to-day for the months of March and April.—June 5. This morning we discovered the rebel camps to be evacuated and everything seemed to indicate that they were off. This afternoon our troops commenced crossing below the railroad bridge. Quite heavy cannonading continued for about two hours, the enemy not replying. Sedgwick's corps began crossing about dark.—June 6. Had a battalion drill by Lieutenant-Colonel Joslin. Rumors of a move, but no definite orders.—June 7. This afternoon at dress parade, I read the death sentence of Richard Hixon of Company K. [This sentence was not executed, for Richard Hixon was afterwards transferred to the Twentieth as absent wounded.] June 9. This evening we had a little shelling from the rebels, but they did very little damage. This morning the New York Thirty-fourth left for home, their term of service having expired. It seemed like losing a friend, for they had been with us over twenty months.—June 10. Had a battalion drill. This evening about seventy-five rebel prisoners passed through our camp. They were taken upon our right. Brigadier-General Harrow assumed command of our brigade. Major-General Hancock assumed command of the corps."

William Harrow had formerly commanded the Fourteenth Indiana. General Couch's resignation arose from his lack of confidence in General Hooker as a commander of the army, and was tendered soon after the battle of Chancellorsville. He was appointed commander of the Department of the Susquehanna, and the Pennsylvania militia was organized under his direction to meet Lee's invasion. He afterwards commanded the Second Division of the Twenty-third Army Corps.

Winfield S. Hancock was born in Pennsylvania. He was graduated at West Point, 1844. He served with honor in the Mexican and Seminole wars. In the Peninsular campaign he commanded a brigade in Smith's division of the Fourth and Sixth Corps. We have seen how he succeeded Richardson in the command of the First Division of the Second Corps. At Fredericksburg and at Chancellorsville he had displayed a rare ability which gave promise, afterwards amply fulfilled, that he would be a worthy successor even to such leaders as Sumner and Couch.

The losses of the Fifteenth from all causes, during the seven months from November 1, 1862, to June 1, 1863, according to the consolidated morning reports, was four hundred and thirty-seven. Of these, two hundred and seventy-five men were discharged for disability, and twenty-seven commissioned officers were lost by resignation, promotion, or transfer. This loss was in part offset by a gain of one hundred and seventy-three. There were only eight recruits during the whole seven months. The net loss was two hundred and sixty-four. The total number in the regiment May 31, 1863, was five hundred and seventy-one, of whom three hundred and forty-six were present for duty. The men remaining had become so well seasoned that the hard marches of June withdrew but twenty-eight from this number.

CHAPTER X.

THE GETTYSBURG CAMPAIGN.

JUNE 14—JULY 4, 1863.

THE Army of the Potomac had lost many men in its two disastrous attempts to drive the rebels from the southern bank of the Rappahannock. The spirit of discouragement and dissatisfaction which had prevailed among the officers on account of these failures had led to many resignations and transfers to other fields. The expiration of the terms of service of a considerable number of nine months' and two years' regiments had still further diminished this army. In June, General Hooker had only about one hundred thousand men under arms.

The morale of the Army of the Potomac was much better in June than it had been in January. General Hooker cared for his troops more wisely than General Burnside had, and they were under much better discipline. The diaries and letters of the members of the Fifteenth show nothing of that spirit of insubordination and despondency in the opening summer, which had prevailed in the middle of the winter. Yet, as the resignation of General Couch showed, General Hooker's fatal hesitancy at Chancellorsville had destroyed the confidence of his subordinates. For the same reason, he was distrusted by the authorities at Washington and therefore his plans were received with suspicion, and his movements were restricted. Moreover, the forces on the Peninsula, at Washington, at Harper's Ferry and at Winchester, were neither placed at his disposal or allowed to

coöperate effectively with him. With such lack of confidence, both among those who were under him and those above, no general could reasonably hope for success, and aggressive action became almost impossible.

On the other hand, Lee's army was larger in proportion to the force opposed to it, than it had been at any time since 1861. Those who had been wounded or made prisoners at Antietam, had, for the most part, returned to service. The losses at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville had been comparatively slight. The ranks had been swollen by recruiting and conscription. The confidence reposed by the government in General Lee gave him absolute control of all the forces in Virginia. Thus the number of troops in the three corps under his command at the beginning of June, 1863, was but little less than the numbers in the seven corps in the Army of the Potomac. These troops were filled with the confidence begotten of victory, and reposed the most implicit trust in their leader. The death of Stonewall Jackson had, however, removed from the army Lee's best lieutenant. This proved to be a greater loss than was realized at the time, for Ewell, his successor, lacked the qualities which gave Jackson the power in battle "to ride the whirlwind and control the storm."

The belief that an aggressive warfare was more likely to result successfully than that which was purely defensive, the need for victories in the East to counterbalance the losses in the West, the excellent condition of the Confederate army, the eagerness of the soldiers, inspired by confidence in themselves and in their leader, all combined to persuade General Lee to enter upon an invasion of the loyal states. He determined to move by the Valley of the Shanandoah where the Blue Ridge would hide his advance.

Longstreet's corps started on the 3d of June, and by the 7th had reached Culpeper Court House. Ewell's corps followed on the 4th and 5th in the same direction. It was not until Hill's corps began its preparations on the 5th that

Hooker suspected the movement. He immediately asked General Halleck for permission to attack Hill's corps if he found it unsupported, but Halleck refused. Thus Hooker was obliged to content himself with a reconnaissance at the river on the 5th and 6th. He also sent the cavalry under Pleasanton toward Culpeper to discover and report any movement in that direction. June 9th, this cavalry force became engaged with Stuart at Brandy Station, and after a fierce struggle in which the losses were about equal on each side, Pleasanton, having unmasked the movement of the rebel army, reported to Hooker. Hooker was more eager than ever to attack Hill's isolated corps, and would have desired, if successful in this, to move on Richmond, but he had imperative orders that Lee should be followed and Washington should be covered.

Though General Halleck knew that Lee was advancing by the Valley of the Shenandoah, he failed to inform General Milroy who commanded sixty-nine hundred men stationed about Winchester. So Milroy was surprised, and though he fought valiantly, some four thousand of his troops were captured and the rest were scattered in flight.

The northward movement of Hooker's army began June 11. The Third Corps moved in advance, then the First, then the Eleventh. These three corps which constituted the Right Wing, were placed under the command of General Reynolds. These corps, together with the Fifth under General Meade, moved toward Manassas. It was not until the 13th that the three other corps, the Second, Sixth and Twelfth, began their march, and as the Second acted as a rear guard, it was the last to leave.

We turn once more to Earle's diary: "June 14. Finished preparing to move, and immediately after dark we left our camp. Marched about three miles and halted for an hour, when we were ordered back into camp.—June 15. Arrived at our old camp about one o'clock this morning, and after two hours' sleep left again. Arrived at Stafford Court

House at eight A. M., and after an hour we left for Dumfries. Crossed Aquia Creek and went into camp for the night about a mile from the creek. Had only fifty-three men to stack arms. The hardest day's march we ever had. Captain Russell was sunstruck."

The following issued by General Gibbon speaks for itself:

"JUNE 15, '63.

"There are occasions when a man is obliged to leave his ranks, but in the vast majority of cases the straggler is a skulking, cowardly wretch who strives to shift his duties upon the shoulders of more honest men and better soldiers. The fact that such regiments as the Fifteenth, Nineteenth and Twentieth Massachusetts arrive in camp with few less than they leave with in the morning, is sufficient proof that straggling, even in the worst weather, is inexcusable, and the general commanding the division regrets to notice such a vast contrast in some of the regiments of the division.

"GENERAL GIBBON."

Turning to the diary again: "June 16. Were called up at three o'clock this morning, and arrived at Dumfries about eight o'clock A. M. After two hours' rest we moved on, and at dusk went into camp at Wolf Run Shoals. A very hard day's march. Saw men dead by the roadside.—June 17. Had a good night's sleep, and left for Fairfax Station about nine A. M. Arrived at Sangster's Station at four o'clock, and went into camp. Colonel Ward commanding brigade.—June 18. Had a good night's rest. The warmest night I ever experienced."

June 12, Colonel Ward wrote: "The regiment is in good shape, and I am all right. I shall fight if I can get a chance, that is certain; nothing but my leg will stop me. I can ride anywhere anybody can, but if we are obliged to go where horses cannot, I shall be obliged to stop. I am in for it, and shall take the chances." June 19, he wrote from Fairfax Station: "From Dumfries we came directly to this place, which is about fifteen miles from Alexandria. The men all

agree in saying it was the hardest march they ever had. The first night we halted, not over quarter of the full number were with the regiment. The rest had fallen out from fatigue and exhaustion. The men are entirely used up, and ought not to move for several days. I never saw anything like it. The men would go as long as they could stand and then fall."

Earle's diary continues: "June 19. We started for Centreville (at about three P. M.), which place we reached about five o'clock.—June 20. Had a refreshing night's sleep. This morning witnessed a raid on the sutler of the Ninth Massachusetts Battery. Brigadier-General Hays ordered two pieces of the battery and one regiment to disperse the crowd. It was a great time and afforded much fun. About noon we left for Thoroughfare Gap. Passing through Gainesville about dark, we reached the Gap about midnight and turned in for the rest of the night. We passed the old Bull Run battle-ground and saw marked evidence of a great battle. Riding along, I saw two skulls lying in the road kicked round by the passers-by. Also saw hands and feet of those half buried, and the whole ground was completely strewn with the bones of the dead. The march was a long one, and after dark very tiresome.—June 21. Had a few hours' rest. Changed our camp into the woods."

Leaving the Fifteenth stationed near Thoroughfare Gap for the next three days, let us once more consider the movements of the rebel army as a whole. Hill's corps had followed the rest of Lee's forces northward as soon as he saw that Hooker had abandoned his position about Falmouth. At this time the head of the Confederate army was near Martinsburg, a hundred miles away. The next four days Lee devoted to the concentration of his troops except for a cavalry raid, which penetrated Pennsylvania as far as Chambersburg and spread consternation through the peaceful valley of the Cumberland. General Hooker, meanwhile

waited at Centreville and Manassas to see whether Lee would move through that section as in the Antietam campaign, or go directly northward. The cavalry of Pleasanton, sent out to reconnoiter along the passes of the Blue Ridge, did some valiant fighting between Aldie and Ashby's Gap with the rebel cavalry. When Longstreet's corps reached this pass, Pleasanton followed its movements and kept Hooker informed.

While Longstreet was thus operating along the Blue Ridge, Ewell's corps went across the Potomac under orders to capture Harrisburg, if possible. On the 23d, Lee ordered Hill and Longstreet to follow Ewell. Hill went first, and Longstreet, acting as rear guard, had brought up his forces by the 27th so that they were near those of Hill at Chambersburg. On the same day Ewell was at Carlisle preparing to attack the capital of the state, which was defended only by the newly recruited militia of Pennsylvania, under the command of General Couch. General Hooker having been apprised of the advance of Lee, and knowing that Washington was no longer in danger from the west, sent the First, Third and Eleventh Corps, under General Reynolds, across the Potomac at Edward's Ferry on the 25th, with orders to locate at Middletown and shut out Lee from entering eastern Maryland. Two days later the other four corps had also crossed.

For the 25th of June, Earle's diary has this entry: "Left camp this morning for Gum Springs. Passing through Haymarket we were severely shelled by the rebels who had placed a battery in a very commanding position. They continued their fire until silenced by one of ours. I never saw so hard shelling before. Arrived at Gum Springs and went into camp at about nine o'clock." The shelling here spoken of was done by Stuart's artillery. One man in Company K of the Fifteenth was wounded. Stuart at this time was just entering upon his expedition around the rear of the Union army, which withdrew his cavalry from the main army of

Lee at the time it was most needed by him. At Gum Springs General Alexander Hays' brigade, consisting of four New York regiments, joined the Second Corps. General Hays was put in command of the Third Division, while Colonel Willard commanded the brigade. Alexander S. Webb had succeeded General Owen in command of the Philadelphia brigade at Thoroughfare Gap.

On the 26th, the Fifteenth crossed the Potomac at Edward's Ferry and bivouacked about midnight near the bank. On the 27th it passed through Poolesville and camped at the foot of Sugar Loaf Mountain. The following order was read to the regiment before the march began:

(*General Order No. 105.*)

"The Fifteenth and Nineteenth Massachusetts Volunteers, for marching to-day in the best and most compact order and with the least straggling from their ranks, are excused from all picket duty and outside details for four days.

By command of

"BRIGADIER-GENERAL GIBBON."

This may well be associated with the other implied commendation by General Gibbon, issued June 15.

Despite the most heroic endurance, the march had been telling upon Colonel Ward most seriously. The following extracts are taken from the last letter his wife ever received from him. It was written from Poolesville, June 27. He says: "I am still in command of the brigade. General Gibbon has returned, but General Harrow is sick and rides in an ambulance. I expect it will be my turn next, as I feel very much like it now. All are surprised to see how well I stand it. I have not had my leg off for three days, neither has it been dressed.... I have always said the war was too far off for the North to fully realize its magnitude. The time has now come for action. The vigorous and earnest prosecution of the war is inevitable, and the quiet slumber of the people of the North will get most shockingly disturbed. I am writing this out-of-doors in the open field on the old camp-ground

at Poolesville. I have just reached down and picked a leaf of clover which you will find inclosed.... We have not seen the worst of this rebellion yet, and I almost shudder at the thought of what we are to pass through before the struggle is over, but I still trust and believe that things will come out well.... One thing is certain, our men will fight much better with their faces turned homeward." This letter, like all those written by Colonel Ward, abounds in expressions of the most tender affection for his family. The closing words of this final letter of the stern soldier, as he went on to his last fierce conflict, were: "Love and kisses to the children."

On the 28th, the army passed through Urbana to Frederick City. On this day there was another change in the command of the Army of the Potomac. General Hooker, who had managed the campaign thus far with great judgment, though constantly thwarted in his bolder schemes by General Halleck, had sent in his resignation. The immediate occasion of this action was the refusal of Halleck to allow the evacuation of Harper's Ferry and the consequent coöperation of French's large force with the main army. General George G. Meade, commander of the Fifth Corps, was placed at the head of the Army of the Potomac. Quiet, with little self-assertion, scholarly, courageous, but never reckless, he seemed by nature more adapted to the retirement of academic life than to the turmoil of campaigns. He was entirely unknown to the great body of the soldiers. This promotion was accepted by them without protest, but without enthusiasm.

It was too late to change the plans of General Hooker even if it had been desirable. General Meade directed his troops northward through the valley between the South Mountain on the west and Parr's Ridge on the east. On the 29th, the First and Eleventh Corps reached Emmetsburg, the Third and Twelfth Taneytown, while the right wing, including the Second, Fifth and Sixth Corps, were located between this point and Westminster. Through carelessness

in the delivery of instructions, the Second Corps had not started as early as it should have done. It was eight A. M. before the Fifteenth left camp. During the next twelve hours it marched by way of Liberty and Johnsville to Uniontown, a distance of over thirty miles. "The greatest march ever known," says Earle.

On the 30th, the main body of the army rested, while the cavalry reconnoitered the position of the enemy and watched the passes. Buford's division entering Pennsylvania discovered a body of rebel troops at Fairfield and reported to Reynolds. As Reynolds had been ordered to occupy Gettysburg, which is nearer to Fairfield than to Emmetsburg, on the next day with the First Corps, he directed Buford to hurry hither and take possession before the enemy could reach it. General Meade had determined to manoeuvre in such a way as to bring on a battle as soon as possible, provided suitable conditions could be found. As he was unacquainted with the topography of the country and uncertain concerning the plans of Lee, he was still feeling his way. On July 1, the orders given required the First Corps to be at Gettysburg, the Eleventh near by, the Third at Emmetsburg, the Twelfth at Two Taverns, the Second at Taneytown, the Fifth at Hanover and the Sixth at Manchester.

Meanwhile General Lee had become aware that the Union forces had crossed the Potomac. Fearing to be cut off from Virginia, he determined to cross the South Mountain and concentrate his troops at Gettysburg. He recalled Ewell from the banks of the Susquehanna and set the other two corps in motion from Chambersburg and Fayetteville. Heth's division of Hill's corps reached Cashtown on the 29th. Pettigrew's brigade was sent to Gettysburg on the next day. Buford, who had promptly followed Reynold's order, was discovered to be already in possession. Pettigrew retired to await reinforcements. Hill ordered Heth to take Gettysburg in the morning of July 1, and Lee hastened the concentration of his troops upon this point.

Nine carriage roads and one railroad meet at Gettysburg. From thence one can go directly to all the centers of trade between the Susquehanna and the Potomac. It is, therefore, a point of great strategic importance. It is near the headwaters of the Monocacy. Into this river, by means of Marsh Creek, the drainage of its hills is poured southward through two small streams, Willoughby's Run on the west, and Rock Creek on the east. Plum Run is a branch of the latter stream and lies between the two. On the east of Willoughby Run and parallel to it, is a long line of hills, known as Seminary Ridge. Half a mile to the east of this ridge is the town of Gettysburg at the foot of the northern extremity of another group of hills, known as Cemetery Ridge. This ridge has rocky summits at the ends; that at the north, eighty feet above Gettysburg, is known as Cemetery Hill; those at the south are known as Little Round Top and Round Top. The latter is two hundred and ten feet above Gettysburg. Between the two extremities of the ridge the elevation is less and the land is not so rugged, and was in July, 1863, for the most part under cultivation. To the east of Cemetery Hill is Culp's Hill, which rises from Rock Creek. The Emmetsburg road passes southwesterly along a transverse ridge which crosses the valley from Cemetery Hill to a point in Seminary Ridge opposite Little Round Top. The triangular valley thus formed is drained by Plum Run, the rocky gorge of which is known as Devil's Den. Where the Millerstown road intersects this Emmetsburg road was a peach orchard. The two main ridges offered strong lines to the two armies. The direction of approach naturally gave that on the west to the Confederates, and that on the east to the Federals.

On the morning of July 1, however, Buford's cavalry was stationed to the northwest of Gettysburg along the Chambersburg road as far to the west as Willoughby's Run. Here, at six A. M., was the first encounter. Though Buford's effective force was less than four thousand men, he held in check Heth's division. He hoped that Reynolds might

bring up the First Corps before he should be overwhelmed by the fresh forces which he saw advancing.

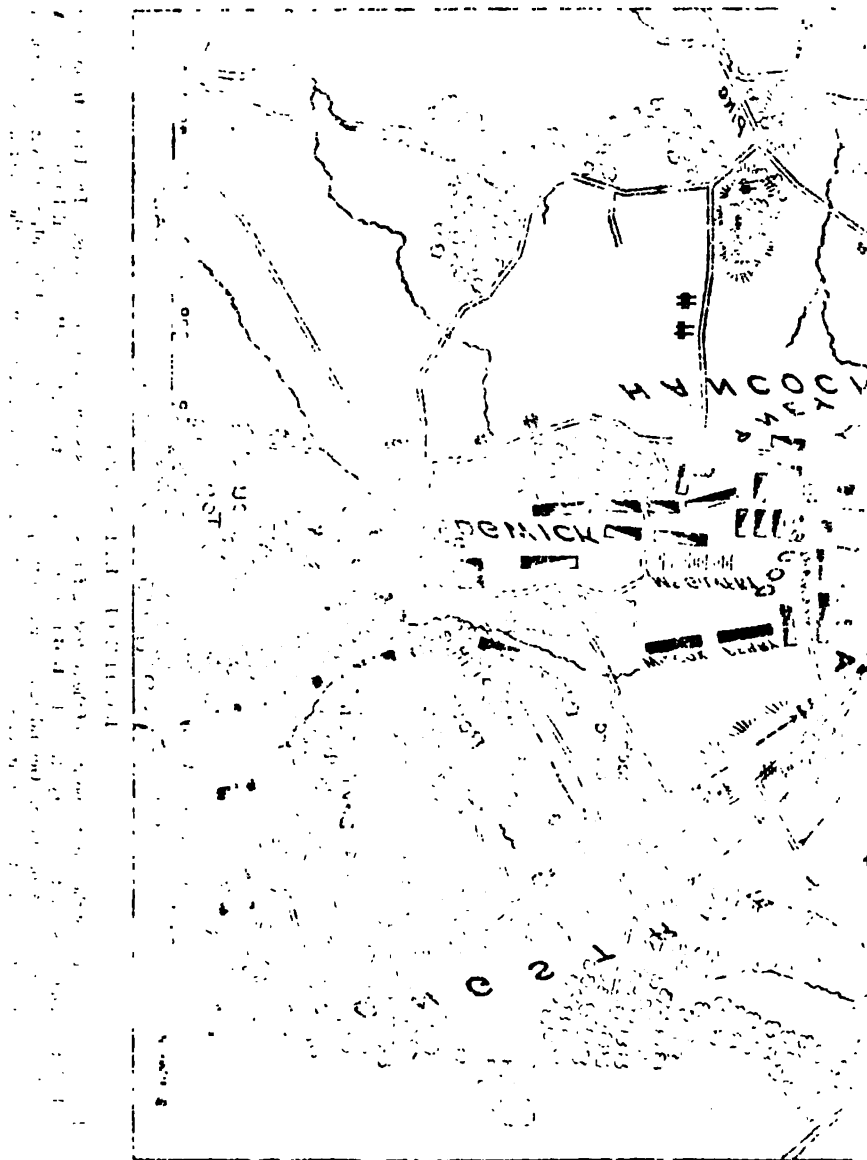
At last Reynolds appeared with Wadsworth's division. His keen eye perceived the advantage of the position. He sent word for his other division and Howard's Eleventh Corps to hasten at their utmost speed, and then arranged the few men at his disposal in such a way along the slope of Oak Hill, which rises from Willoughby's Run, that they were able to withstand successfully the attack of the enemy. Then he fell. The soldiers, unconscious of their loss, fought no less valiantly, and succeeded in maintaining their position until one after another the remaining divisions of the First Corps and those of the Eleventh reached the field. It was then half-past one. General Howard had assumed command, and he sent word to Sickles to bring forward the Third Corps, and to Meade telling him the position of affairs and that he was awaiting his orders. The Confederates had been somewhat slow in taking advantage of their superiority of numbers, but now, during the early afternoon, all of Hill's corps and part of Ewell's were sent into action. The rebels had twenty-two thousand men on the field, the Federals sixteen thousand four hundred. The management of the Federal troops has been much criticized, and to faulty dispositions, no less than to the numerical advantage of the rebels is attributed the rout of the two divisions of the Eleventh Corps, which were engaged, and the retreat of the First Corps, after a stubborn resistance, through the streets of the town, where thousands of their number were taken prisoners. Thus, at about four o'clock, the hills by Willoughby's Run, Seminary Ridge, and even the town of Gettysburg, were in the hands of the enemy. Four thousand men had been captured by them, a large number had been killed, and more had been wounded; the roads were full of fleeing soldiers. Most of them, however, rallied around a brigade which had been left by Howard in reserve on Cemetery Hill.

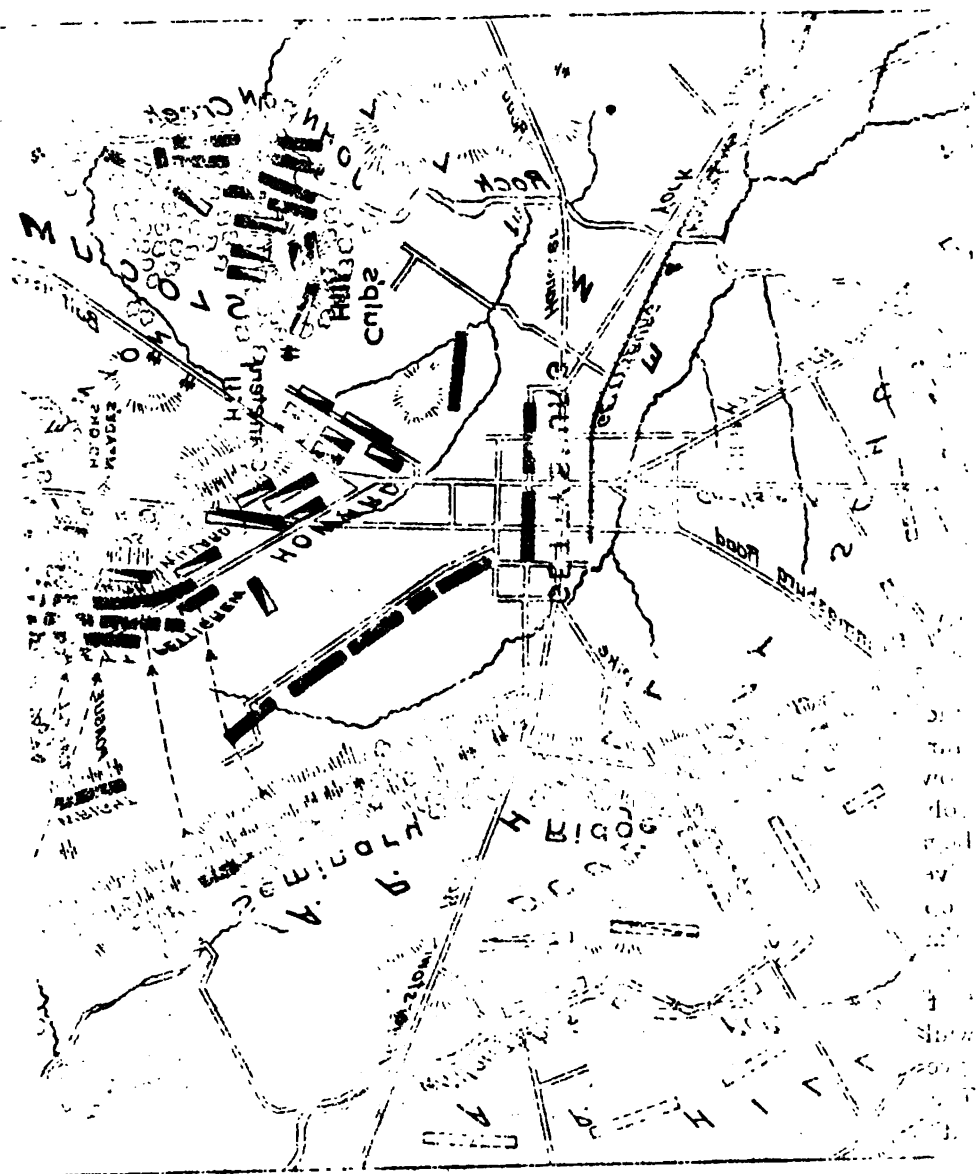
Just then, Hancock, who had been sent to assume command if Reynolds was no longer living, appeared. His presence brought order to the chaotic mass. The men regained their confidence, and the lines were reformed. Culp's Hill was occupied. Cemetery Hill was strengthened. The enemy, notwithstanding the advantage gained up to this point, hesitated to renew their attack until it was too late. Soon our Twelfth Corps came up, and before dark the Third.

We left the Fifteenth resting at Uniontown. On the 30th it was mustered for pay. At eight A. M., July 1, the regiment started for Taneytown. About noon heavy cannonading was heard, and the Second Corps was hurried to the Pennsylvania line. The Fifteenth bivouacked that night three miles from Gettysburg, behind a barricade of rails. An hour before daylight on the next day the regiment started for the battle-field, and at sunrise had been placed in position behind Cemetery Ridge, together with the rest of the Second Corps. While the Fifteenth was here, Colonel Ward, who had been relieved of the command of the brigade by the arrival of General Harrow, took command of the regiment. He made a short address to his men, and impressed upon them the necessity of standing firmly by their colors.

On the morning of July 2, all the Confederate army had arrived on the battle-field, except Pickett's division and Law's brigade of Longstreet's corps. Ewell's corps was in a curve about Culp's and Cemetery Hills. His left was on Benner Hill, east of Rock Creek, his center was in the village of Gettysburg, and his right on Seminary Ridge. Hill's corps came next along this ridge, with one division in the rear on the Chambersburg road. Longstreet's corps was still further along the ridge, with his extreme right across the Emmettsburg road. Slocum commanded the Union Right and Right Center on Culp's and Cemetery Hills, opposite Ewell. He had the Twelfth, Eleventh and First Corps. Then came Hancock's corps on the left center along Cemetery Ridge. Sickles' Third Corps held the left, and

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was supposed to extend as far as Round Top. The Union line was in a curve less than four miles long; the two wings in a direct line on the chord of the arc were much nearer than this. The fact that the Union line was the interior line made it shorter and stronger than that of the rebels, and made the transfer of troops more easy.

Sickles, troubled by the lack of elevation at his part of the line, made the mistake of throwing out his corps to the transverse ridge at the point where the Millerstown road crosses the Emmettsburg road. This lengthened his already attenuated line and formed an angle, which is a poor formation for resistance to an attack. On the side of the angle toward Round Top was Birney's division, with Graham's brigade at the vertex at the peach orchard, where the roads intersect. De Trobriand's was to the left and then J. H. H. Ward's. The other side of the angle was held by Humphrey's division. Meanwhile neither of the Round Tops was occupied. General Meade was informed by Sickles in regard to his position, but just as he had examined and condemned it, the attack of the rebels began, and it was too late for a change.

Lee's plan was to attack Sickles' corps with the right under Longstreet, roll it up on the Second Corps, and then hold the center under Hill on the confused mass. He failed, however, to give sufficient strength to the first attacking column. It was after three o'clock before Hood's division began the advance. After the movement had begun, Hood detached Law's division and sent it against Little Round Top. Two other divisions followed. At this time General Warren and three members of the Second Corps were alone on the summit of Little Round Top. As he saw the danger of his position, Warren dashed away to seek defenders, and the three men waved their flags in such a way as to give the enemy the impression that a force held the position. The head of the Fifth Corps had just arrived on the field in orders to strengthen the left. Vincent's brigade was

posted by Warren's orders on the slope of Little Round Top. O'Roke's regiment and Hazlett's battery scaled the sides. There was a terrible struggle, but the position was held by the brigades of Weed and Ayers which came up later. Little Round Top, and with it the whole Union line, was saved.

Between the peach orchard and the rocky gorge of Devil's Den, there was a wheat-field and woods. Hood's first attack on Sickles' line fell on General J. H. H. Ward's command of Birney's division at Devil's Den. It was repulsed. The next blow fell further to the right, on De Trobriand. Again the rebels were driven back, but as brigade after brigade pressed against their meagre forces, Ward and De Trobriand were slowly forced to yield. Barnes' division of the Fifth Corps came to the aid of Birney's overpowered troops. The lost ground was partially recovered. Then, it was lost again. Caldwell's division of the Second Corps came to the relief of Birney and Barnes. The rebels were now in the wheat-field and in the woods to the south and west. The brigades of Cross and Kelly charged across the wheat-field on the rebels who were behind the stone-wall on its outer edge. More than a third of their men fell. The brigades of Brooke and Zook followed and drove the rebels from the wall back through the wood, but in vain, for the enemy were on both their flanks as well as in front. Our men were forced to retreat, leaving half their number dead or wounded. The division of McLaws' fell on Graham's brigade of Birney's division at the peach orchard. There was a stern but ineffectual resistance. The loss of the peach orchard destroyed all possibility of regaining the ground where the troops of Ward, De Trobriand, Barnes and Caldwell had fought so long and bravely, or of holding the line occupied by Humphreys' division along the Emmettsburg road. McLaws was on Humphreys' left flank at the vertex of the angle, and Anderson's division of Hill's corps also advanced against him, overlapping his right where there was an open space between it and

the left of the Second Corps. Humphreys' two brigades were obliged to retire to Plum Run with the loss of half their effective force. In this movement the fortunes of the Massachusetts Fifteenth were directly involved.

Some hours before his retreat, Humphreys had urged General Gibbon to close the line by filling up the open space between them. This could not be done, but two regiments, the Eighty-second New York and the Fifteenth Massachusetts, were sent to a brick house known as the Codori house, which was to the right of Humphreys' line, near the Emmettsburg road. The Ward monument now marks this position. Brown's battery (B, First Rhode Island) was placed in the rear and to the left of these two regiments. The story of the Fifteenth is told in the report of Lieutenant-Colonel Joslin: "Early on the morning of the 2d, we moved from our place of bivouac, immediately in the rear of the First Minnesota, and took our position in close column by regiments near the battle-field, stacked arms, and remained until about four o'clock in the afternoon, when the enemy opened fire from their batteries. Colonel Ward, who had been in command of the brigade, was here relieved, and took command of the regiment, and moved by order of General Harrow to the front of our batteries, and took position on the right of the Eighty-second New York, their left resting near a brick house about two hundred yards to the front, nothing connecting on our right. Here we built a small breastwork of rails behind the fence, during which time the enemy were engaged on our left, and there was a rapid picket firing in our front. We remained in this position about half an hour, when the pickets were driven in, and the Eighty-second New York became engaged. Upon the approach of the enemy, the batteries in our rear opened fire with grape and cannister, by which we lost a large number, killed and wounded.

"At this time the Eighty-second New York fell back, exposing our left and rear to the deadly fire of the rebel infantry. Here Colonel Ward received wounds from which

he has since died. We now opened a rapid fire, but being left alone, could hold the position but a short time, when we retired in some disorder, being pressed so closely that we lost quite a number of prisoners, captured by the enemy. We reformed our line in the rear of the batteries, and rejoined the brigade, which was moved after dark to the front line, and took position on the left of the First Minnesota, which was the extreme left of the brigade, where we remained until about two-thirty p. m. of the following day."

To this modest report, we add the account of General Harrow: "As the enemy advanced, the first of the division to engage them was the Eighty-second New York and the Fifteenth Massachusetts Volunteers, from their position on the Gettysburg and Emmettsburg road. These two regiments, in the aggregate not more than seven hundred strong, and without support on their line, but partially protected by the rails of a fence which they had hastily taken down and piled in their front, gallantly sustained an unequal contest against greatly superior numbers until the enemy's advance had reached their left flank, when they retired, but not before suffering heavy losses and inflicting more than a corresponding punishment upon their assailants. It was in this advanced line that Colonels Ward (of the Fifteenth Massachusetts) and Huston (of the Eighty-second New York) both fell, mortally wounded (each since dead), and here also many line officers were killed and wounded." General Gibbon reported: "They, the two regiments, did most excellent service in checking the advance of the enemy and preventing them from cutting off the Third Corps from our lines." General Hancock reiterates the same idea: "The two regiments and battery referred to above as having been advanced by General Gibbon to the vicinity of the brick-house did excellent service in protecting it from being cut off from the line of battle."

General Devens in an address delivered at the dedication of the Ward monument, June 2, 1886, said: "It was nearly

seven o'clock in the evening before the storm fell upon the Fifteenth and Eighty-second New York. Wright's Georgia brigade now advanced, and would have struck or swept around the right flank of the Third Corps but that it was encountered by these regiments. The engagement was desperate; from their advanced position the two regiments were to some extent under the fire of our own men as much as that of the enemy. The Eighty-second, whose left was now wholly uncovered, was first forced back, and the whole weight of the assault fell upon the Fifteenth. It was necessary to retire to the line of the Second Corps, and thither it fought its way back. But the two regiments had done their work well in protecting the flank of their own corps, for as the enemy followed closely they were handsomely repulsed by the Second Brigade of their division, and by a portion of the Thirteenth Vermont, which had just reached that part of the field. In this fearful conflict we had to mourn the loss of many brave officers and men, among them Colonel Ward, who, gallantly fighting as his regiment steadily retreated, received the mortal wound of which, a few hours later, he died. Lieutenant-Colonel Huston was mortally wounded. But if terrible blows had been received, they had been most terribly returned. The Georgia brigade of Wright had left on the field either killed or seriously and perhaps mortally wounded three of their regimental commanders, Colonel Warden of the Twenty-second Georgia, Major Ross, commanding Second Georgia, Colonel Gibson, commanding Forty-eighth Georgia, and its loss in subordinate officers and men was proportionately heavy. I have spoken somewhat fully of the conduct of the Fifteenth of the 2d of July, for, from the isolated position which it and its companion regiment occupied they rendered a peculiar, dangerous and most gallant service."

In regard to being under the fire of our own men, William J. Coulter wrote shortly after the battle: "Our artillery threw grape and canister which, no doubt, was intended to go over

our heads; but a good share of it struck our regiment. One discharge of canister from our own guns wounded the captain of Company E, the orderly-sergeant and a private of my own company."

Thomas J. Hastings states concerning the withdrawal: "Being in this position, under fire from men in the rear, in front and on the flank, there seemed to be nothing for our men to do but to fall back to the main line. But a score or more of the gallant men seeming to be resolved, standing as they were in battle on loyal soil, not to retreat, resolutely stood their ground along the road, loading and firing until enveloped by the enemy, and those who survived were taken prisoners." It may be added that most of them escaped within a few days while being taken through the Pennsylvania mountains.

It is impossible to separate definitely the losses of the Fifteenth on July 2 from those on July 3. The record of the Eighty-second New York shows that under similar conditions, one hundred and fifty-three men were lost on the former day and only sixty-nine on the latter, and it seems probable from the records in the company books, which have been preserved, that the losses of the Fifteenth Massachusetts may have been in a like proportion.

As General Sickles had been wounded, General Hancock was given command of the Third Corps in addition to his own, the immediate command of which fell on General Gibbon. As all the troops which General Sickles had stationed in the angle in front of the line as originally planned, had now been driven back, with all those of the Fifth and Second Corps, which had been sent to their assistance, General Hancock tried to make firm the line originally planned along Plum Run. The troops at his disposal were all too few to do this in the presence of a victorious enemy. He sent the Nineteenth Massachusetts and the Forty-second New York against those who were pressing upon Humphreys; Colonel Willard's brigade was ordered to stop a gap left by the retiring troops of Birney. Williams' division of the Twelfth

Corps and Newton's First Corps, dispatched by Meade from the right, were established in a weak place in the line between Cemetery Ridge and Round Top; the First Minnesota was hurled effectively but with great loss against a rebel regiment which had penetrated the Union line. An attack made by Anderson on Gibbon's division was handsomely repulsed. When General Meade himself came up with two regiments of the Twelfth Corps under Lockwood, the line had been practically established. Later, there was a little aggressive action on our part and some guns lost earlier in the day were recaptured from the enemy. Needed reënforcements were sent to the aid of Howard and Slocum. The arrival of a portion of the Sixth Corps added greater strength and when darkness came the line from Round Top to the end of the left center was stronger than it had been before the battle began.

No attack was made on the right under Slocum by Ewell's corps until near nightfall. The Federal forces on Cemetery and Culp's Hills had been depleted to reënforce the right and were therefore in a poor condition to resist an onset. The advance of Early on Cemetery Hill was beaten off by Howard with the assistance of Carroll's brigade. The natural strength of his position was such that Greene, with the assistance of troops from Wadsworth and Schurz, repelled the attack of Johnson from his own lines, although it was ten o'clock before the conflict ended. On the extreme right Johnson's troops gained possession of some intrenchments from which the defenders, under Williams, had been sent to the left earlier in the day. This position was held by Johnson during the night.

On the night of the 2d of July, Colonel Joslin was detailed as the officer of the day. His oral order was something like this: "I have detailed to you a certain number of men; you may place them as far front as you deem prudent. The troops must have sleep, and I shall hold you responsible for the safety of the Second Corps." It was a night of deep anxiety, of most horrible sights and sounds. As the line

was beyond the Emmettsburg road, our wounded men were gathered in, and few, if any, were obliged to stay out over night.

To General Lee the result of the action of the 2d seemed to be on the whole in his favor. Sickles' line had been driven back and Johnson had effected a lodgment on the Federal right at Culp's Hill. Therefore, though less confident than on the day before, the Confederate commander determined to continue his attacks on the 3d. Longstreet urged a movement around the Union left, as he had repeatedly done before, but Lee decided to push the advantage gained by Johnson the night before, and to send a strong force against Cemetery Ridge where the Second Corps lay.

It was intended that the two blows should be delivered simultaneously. Slocum's troops on the right, however, failed to wait for Johnson's attack, but assumed the offensive as soon as the light broke. Williams' division of the Twelfth Corps, then under command of General Ruger, had returned from the left during the night. General Geary had also been recalled. Thus the Twelfth Corps was reunited and eager to begin the attack as soon as the sun appeared. At first our artillery poured a heavy fire on the enemy for fifteen minutes. Then Johnson, who had been strongly reënforced, anticipating the advance of his foe, hurled his troops against the intrenchments of Geary who had joined his other brigades to that of Greene. For seven hours the Twelfth Corps, assisted by Shaler's brigade of the Sixth Corps, struggled with the enemy. At the end of this time Johnson had been driven out and the line completely restored.

At about eleven o'clock a strange hush fell on the battle-field. This remained unbroken for two hours, while the opposing armies waited in deep suspense under the oppressive heat of the July sun for the decisive contest which they knew must come. Lee, notwithstanding the defeat of Johnson, clung to his idea of an attack on the left center of the Union line. This attack was entrusted to

Pickett's division of Longstreet's corps, supported on the left by Heth's division under General Pettigrew, together with two brigades of Pender's division under Trimble, and on the right by Wilcox's brigade of Anderson's division. All of these supports were of Hill's corps, and were for the most part inferior as soldiers to the fifteen fresh, veteran, Virginia regiments of Pickett, which numbered forty-nine hundred men. The total number of the attacking column was between fourteen and fifteen thousand. Longstreet, who had the directing of the attack, begged Lee not to insist upon it, as he declared that success under the existing circumstances would be impossible, but Lee was unmovable.

At one o'clock, one hundred and thirty-eight pieces of artillery opened fire from the Confederate lines. Eighty pieces from the western front of the Federal lines replied. The Union soldiers, were lying with guns clutched in their hands, behind the stone wall or such slight fortifications as they had been able to construct. The Fifteenth was at this time some twenty-five or more rods to the left of the monument which now marks the final struggle. This artillery battle, the grandest ever known on the American continent, lasted for nearly two hours. Then some of the Union batteries stopped firing, and some were withdrawn to give place to others. The rebels, thinking our guns silenced, slackened their fire. At this instant our troops saw Pickett's division with its supports emerging from the Confederate lines some fourteen hundred yards away. In perfect order, adapting their movements to the nature of the ground traversed, the troops of Pickett, Pettigrew and Trimble, moved steadily forward on their terrible task. If they broke the Union line, the final success of their cause seemed assured; if they failed, they must for the future struggle against hope. The Union line stood in silent admiration of their daring, yet confidently bracing itself to meet the shock. As Pickett crossed the Emmettsburg road, McGilvery's forty pieces of artillery opened upon

his right flank, doing fearful execution. The artillery of the Second Corps under Hazard had exhausted all the ammunition except canister, otherwise it might have done like service. As it came within infantry range, Pettigrew's division was in front of Hays', and Pickett's faced Gibbon's. Bullets and canister rapidly thinned the rebel ranks. Many of the troops of Pettigrew were recent recruits, and were unable to advance to close contact. General Hays' report states: "When within a hundred yards of our line of infantry the fire of our men could be no longer restrained. Four lines rose from behind our stone wall, and before the smoke from our first volley had cleared away, the enemy, in dismay and consternation, were seeking safety in flight. Every attempt by their officers to rally them was in vain. In less time than I can recount it, they were throwing away their arms, and appealing most piteously for mercy." Here, two thousand prisoners were taken.

Some of the bravest of the troops of Pettigrew and Trimble join Pickett. Willcox has failed to properly support Pickett's right, and Stannard's Vermont brigade, stationed in an advanced position to the left of the Second Corps, is pouring its terrible fire upon this flank. Now the rebels are within range of Gibbon's division, which rains leaden death upon them. Yet, all undaunted, after a momentary pause, the Virginians slightly turning their course, which has previously been directly toward Harrow's brigade, charge upon the very crest of the hill where Webb's Pennsylvania brigade is waiting them behind the stone wall. This line falls back under the irresistible blow. Now the rebels are over the wall and now they are upon the guns of Cushing's battery. The Union line is pierced, and the Confederate battle-flags wave over Cemetery Ridge. But already Hall and Harrow have come to the assistance of Webb, and a line four deep has been formed in front, and surging masses of men are pressing upon Pickett's flanks. Military formations are lost; but one purpose fills every

Union breast. There are a few minutes of Titanic struggle, then the rebels throw themselves on the ground in sign of surrender, or seek to retrace their steps across the death-stricken plain.

It is not necessary for us to speak of Wilcox's tardy and futile advance, or of the bold cavalry movement around the rebel right. With the failure of Pickett's charge the battle of Gettysburg was decided. The proud waves of invasion were stayed. Lee's aggressive force was destroyed. The doom of the Confederacy was sealed.

Just what part had the Fifteenth taken in this supreme effort for the salvation of the Union? So little attention was paid to military formation in this repulse of Pickett that it is impossible to assign to each regiment its particular share of the glory. To the Second Army Corps, especially, fell the duty of repelling the grand charge. The Second Division of this corps bore the brunt of the attack. While no precedence should be claimed for the work of any brigade of this division, we may surely say the work of Harrow's brigade was surpassed by none, and that the Fifteenth Massachusetts fought as heroically as any regiment in the brigade. General Harrow reported as commander of the Second Division, Second Corps: "I have no words to express the unwavering courage and daring of the entire command....I hope it is not too much to say that this division contributed very largely to the success of the 3d inst., if indeed they did not save the day." Colonel Joslin simply said in his report: "About one P. M. the enemy opened a heavy fire of artillery upon our lines, during which we lost one man killed and two wounded. Soon after, an attack of infantry was made by the enemy on the right of our lines, and we moved by the right flank a short distance and became hotly engaged. After about an hour's fighting the enemy was repulsed, during which engagement the regiment sustained a heavy loss. After about an hour, we were ordered to our former position, and from

there deployed to the front as skirmishers, where we remained until relieved, about 8 A. M. the next day, our ammunition being expended. During the skirmish we lost two men wounded."

In discussing the battle he has recently stated, in effect: "The only command heard in connection with Pickett's charge by the officers of the Fifteenth, was: 'Up, boys, they are coming!' This was shouted by a general's aide. There were practically no general orders. It was an affair of regiments, or even of individuals, all moved, however, by the same spontaneous impulse to meet and hurl back the foe. The Fifteenth was in the rear of Webb's broken line, right in the group of trees which was Pickett's objective point."

The report of the adjutant-general of Massachusetts for 1863, states: "At about three P. M. the rebel infantry moved to the assault. Our men sprang promptly to meet them, glad at a prospect of work, relieving them from their painful recumbent position which a broiling sun rendered the more intolerable. . . . A slight wavering of the rebel line was here detected. . . . The colors of the Fifteenth were ordered to advance, when the remnant of the regiment rallied promptly around them, and the whole line, as if moved by a common impulse, rushed forward and carried the position." It was in the movement to the right that Captain Jorgensen, and a little after, Captain Murkland fell.

Lieutenant-Colonel Joslin in the closing words of his report, speaking of the battle as a whole, said: "We went into action with eighteen officers and two hundred and twenty-one men. During the three days, our loss in killed was three officers, nineteen enlisted men; wounded, eight officers and eighty-five enlisted men; missing, twenty-eight enlisted men, supposed to be captured. The behavior of the officers and men under my command during the engagement was as good as I could wish. It would do injustice to particularize officers of the line, they all acted with so much coolness and bravery. I would mention especially Major

Hooper and Lieutenant Earle, acting adjutant, they both being with me the whole time and showing the greatest bravery."

The Second Corps had greater losses in killed and wounded at Gettysburg than any other corps in the army, the Second Division more than any other division, Harrow's brigade more than any other brigade. The loss per cent. of the Fifteenth in killed and wounded and missing was sixty-one and nine-tenths. This loss per cent. was exceeded only by that of four other regiments at Gettysburg. Only seventeen other regiments in the whole war had a greater loss per cent. in a single battle than this. Fox gives the number of killed and mortally wounded as thirty-eight, or fifteen plus per cent. of the total number engaged. The total loss, though smaller numerically than at Ball's Bluff or Antietam, was larger in proportion to the number of men engaged. At Ball's Bluff and Antietam the losses caused by blunders seemed to many, sacrifices without compensating results. But at Gettysburg the losses came in fighting which was effective, and told strongly toward the final victory which was worth all it cost.

Just before the battle of Gettysburg, Sergeant Edward B. Rollins of Company A sent to his wife a card with the name of the eleven battles he had fought beautifully inscribed upon it. He left a space for inscribing one more name, and wrote that after he had fought his twelfth battle he should come home. He was killed July 2.

Many of the dead were buried on the battle-field. William J. Coulter writes: "It was during the fight (at the stone-wall) that my tent-mate, James P. Chenery, was killed. He was shot through the neck, and died immediately. He was buried right where he fell, and a board with his name written on it marks the spot." The burial of Chenery was similar to that of many others. A few of the bodies were sent North. Among the commissioned officers who were killed or mortally wounded, were Lieutenant Elisha G. Buss,

Captain Hans P. Jorgensen, Captain John Murkland, and Colonel George H. Ward.

Lieutenant Elisha G. Buss was a native of Sterling, but had been for some years a resident of Clinton when the war broke out. He enlisted as a private but had been promoted on account of merit, so that before the battle of Gettysburg he had received a commission as lieutenant. He fell pierced by four bullets. As he seemed to be reviving after he was taken to the hospital, those in charge assented to his earnest request to be taken home. The journey was too much for him to bear in his exhausted condition, and about a week after his arrival, he died, July 23. Many of the former soldiers of the Fifteenth attended his funeral on the 24th. Rev. C. M. Bowers conducted the services and expressed the high esteem in which he was held by his townsmen and comrades.

Captain Hans Peter Jorgensen was a native of Copenhagen, Denmark, and was well educated in the schools of that city. He served three years in the Danish army, and was wounded twice while fighting against the Prussians in the Schleswig-Holstein war. Although he worked as a mechanic after he came to this country, he was a man of learning and cultivated taste and of social attainments. As he was not a native of this country, he could not have been drafted. It is reported that he said: "Freedom is the same everywhere, and I cheerfully give my life in its defense. I would give more if I had it." We have seen him fighting and wounded at Ball's Bluff, as detailed for recruiting in Worcester, and as advancing to the command of his company by meritorious service. June 30, he wrote: "There is no doubt as to the result of this battle. Give my love to all my friends, and tell them the old Fifteenth is still gaining laurels, and by the time we get home we shall be completely covered with glory." His remains reached Leominster July 17. The funeral occurred July 23. The State Guards performed escort duty. The pall-bearers were Captains Forehand, Wood, Bartlett, Howe and Gale, and Lieutenants Goddard, Fuller, Staples,

Frazer and Dudley. Some thirty past members of the Fifteenth, under command of Lieutenant Polley, were in the funeral procession. In a memorial sermon the Reverend Eli Fay of Leominster said: "Though he had been in twenty pitched battles, and had seven scars upon him, he had no other thought than to go through the conflict or to fall in it, and it is the testimony of all, that from first to last he was a most worthy, brave and competent soldier.... Jorgensen fell facing the foe, and nobly performing his duty."

The following account of Captain John Murkland is endorsed by Colonel John W. Kimball:

"When the war broke out he was among the first to enlist in Company B, Fifteenth Regiment, and was immediately appointed a sergeant, which office he held until after the battle of Antietam. He was raised to captain from the rank of sergeant, on recommendation of General Gorman and Colonel Kimball, and we give below the letter of General Gorman to Governor Andrew, which will be read with interest:

"HEADQUARTERS 2D DIVISION, 2D ARMY CORPS,

"Bolivar, Va., Oct. 19, 1862.

"Brig.-Gen. Schouler, Adjutant-General:

"SIR: Since the death of the gallant captain of Company B (Captain Simonds), there is a vacancy. I now beg leave to present the name of First-Sergeant John Murkland. He is eminently fit and qualified, and is now in command of his company. He has nobly won this merited promotion by his gallantry on the battle-field of Antietam. When Captain Simonds fell, Lieutenant-Colonel Kimball took the dying man's sword off and said, 'I want you to take this sword and lead this company; will you do it?' He answered gallantly, 'I will do so,—anywhere you may order!' This noble answer, made in the face of death and danger, ought to win for him from his country a medal, and two captains' com-

missions, if need be. I trust His Excellency will reward this especial gallantry at once.

"I am, General, truly yours,

"W. A. GORMAN,

"Brig.-Gen., Commanding Division."

"The Governor immediately forwarded a commission, also wrote a letter to the regiment highly complimentary of Murkland, and giving his reasons for his departure from his usual custom in thus elevating him at once to a captaincy. The appointment gave great satisfaction to the regiment, and to his many friends. As a man, he was genial and kind-hearted, and beloved by all who knew him. As a soldier, he was prompt and efficient, and a thorough disciplinarian, while none braver than he ever trod the field of battle."

As it was impossible for horses to be used to advantage in such a position as that about the Codori house, Colonel Ward sent his to the rear, and supported by a large cane with a crooked handle in his left hand, and his sword in his right, he directed his men. Being the senior officer, he had command of the two regiments. He took his position between these and a little to the rear beside a fence to the right of the Codori house. The Eighty-second New York had already broken, and Colonel Ward had just directed his adjutant, David M. Earle, to order the regiment to fall back, when he received a shot in his sound leg and fell. The adjutant stayed by him a minute, but as obedience to his orders was imperative, hastened to withdraw the regiment. As Colonel Ward could not have gone to the rear without help, he was surely aided by some one or more of the soldiers of the regiment, and cared for, until he died early the next day.

In a letter which he wrote to his family six weeks before, he described the deaths of men in the hospitals in words which may be applied to his own case. "They all," he writes, "say they have tried to do their duty, and hope they have succeeded. Their only regret is that they are unable



BREVET BRIG.-GEN. GEORGE H. WARD,
COLONEL 15TH REG'T, MASS. VOLS.

to see their families and friends. To look upon them and see how manfully they suffer, how nobly they die, to see them give up their lives so willingly with such a perfect trust and faith and hope in the future, it does seem that to die is gain."

The body was sent from Baltimore at five-thirty, July 4, and brought to Worcester and there committed to its last resting place. The funeral was on the 8th of July from the Salem Street Church. The clergy of the city united in the service. Reverend T. E. St. John, the pastor of the Ward family, gave the discourse. Opposite the pulpit a wreath was suspended containing the name of Ward. Wreaths containing the names of Jorgensen and Murkland were on the side galleries. On either side of the pulpit were the old standards of the Fifteenth. The coffin was draped with the stars and stripes, and upon it lay the two swords and other equipments of the deceased. As the body was borne to the cemetery, the State Guard and Highland Cadets acted as escort. The pall-bearers were Captains Church Howe, Amos Bartlett and Walter Forehand, and Lieutenants Charles Frazer, Andrew L. Fuller, Frank W. Polley and James Taft. General Devens and other wounded officers who had served with him, followed in carriages. Fifty-seven past members of the Fifteenth Regiment, with Sergeant Murray in command, sadly marched under the tattered colors beneath which they had fought. The ex-mayors of Worcester and the members of the city government of 1863, the City Guards, the Morning Star Masonic Lodge, together with a great body of citizens who honored him as a patriot and loved him as a friend, joined in the procession. With masonic and military services all that was mortal of the heroic leader of the Fifteenth Regiment was consigned to earth.

The country he had so nobly served recognized his merits by giving him the brevet of brigadier-general, dating from July 2, 1863. His portrait has been placed among the most worthy citizens of his native city upon the walls of Mechan-

ics Hall. The surviving soldiers of the Civil War who have their homes in Worcester, looking upon George H. Ward as the foremost of all their fellow-citizens who offered up their lives to preserve the Union, have given his name to (the city) Post 10 of the Grand Army of the Republic. In accordance with a suggestion made on Memorial Day, 1895, and acted upon by George H. Ward Post six days later, a beautiful monument bearing his bust has been erected over his grave by that organization. This was dedicated May 30, 1896. In closing his eulogy of Colonel Ward, Senator A. S. Roe said: "'Till time shall crumble all things and memorials shall disappear, these bronze lips, methinks, will ceaselessly say to all beholders, 'Be loyal, be true, be brave.'"

The members of the Fifteenth Regiment, together with his comrades of the City Guards, in 1885 erected a fitting monument to his memory on the spot where he fell. This monument was dedicated June 29, 1886, in the presence of some fifty men who had been members of the Fifteenth and many others who had been his friends. General Devens presided at the ceremonies. General A. B. R. Sprague said in his memorial address: "He was a devoted husband, a loving father, an affectionate son, a reliable friend, a worthy and loyal citizen, the brave defender of the government and the flag. His whole life illustrated the truism that 'the bravest are the tenderest, the loving are the daring.' . . . We who knew him and shall never meet again on this spot sacred to his memory, consecrated by his blood, by this granite shaft which bears his likeness in chiselled marble, can draw fresh inspiration from the lesson of his life, his faith, his resignation, as crippled and suffering he went into the conflict and down the dark valley of the shadow of death to life immortal." Congressman W. W. Rice, who followed General Sprague, paid a glowing tribute to his fellow-citizen. "I suppose," he said, "that among all the brave men of our country, sent to the war, there was no truer soldier than he to whose memory you dedicate this stone to-day. I saw him in his

modest home the winter after Ball's Bluff, patient, uncomplaining, unassuming, but not content. He had then given but one limb to his country. You build to his memory this monument on the spot where he fell. You engrave upon it in enduring letters his name and his fate. In this you do well, but he did better. He helped to build a monument nobler and more enduring than this, the nation." Major Church Howe voiced the sentiment of all his comrades when he said: "We who served under him knew him best, noble, gallant, kind-hearted commander. We loved him for his fatherly care of us in camp and on the battle-field." The final words of dedication by General Devens were: "May it stand, through winter's cold and summer's heat, through sunshine and storm, to attest the patriotic self-devotion of a true soldier who died for his country."

The list of killed and mortally wounded in this battle is given below. The dates here given are dates of death as far as known. Some of those who died on the 3d received their wounds on the 2d:

Colonel George H. Ward, July 3.

Company A—Capt. Hans P. Jorgensen, July 3; Sergt. Edward B. Rollins, July 2; Corp. Francis A. Lewis, July 3; Corp. William D. Oakley, July 3.

Company B—George L. Boss, July 2-3; Calvin J. Eaton, July 4; John Marsh, July 3.

Company C—Corp. James P. Chenery, July 2-3; Albert C. Frost, Sept. 16; Alexander Lord, July 2-3; George F. Osgood, July 2-3; George O. Raymond, July 22.

Company D—Orman Stevens, July 3.

Company E—George W. Cross, July 2, (or Company G); Michael Flynn, July 2.

Company F—First Sergt. Henry C. Ball, July 3; Edward W. Prouty, July 2.

Company G—Capt. John Murkland, July 4; First Sergt. George N. Wheelock, July 3; George W. Cross, July 2, (or Co. E).

Company H—First Sergt. Edward Chapin, Aug. 1; Sergt. Abram F. Burrell, Aug. 21; Corp. George F. Fletcher, July 3; Thomas Horn, July 2; Charles A. Reed, July 2.

Company I—Sergt. William Brandes, July 2; Sergt. Avery N. Hathaway, July 24; Corp. Albert H. Snow, July 3; Joseph Bardsley or Burdsley, July 2; John Grady, July 3; James S. Slocum, July 3; Francis Stantor, July 3.

Company K—First-Lieut. Elisha G. Buss, July 23; First Sergt. (com. 2d lieut., never m.) Caleb H. Arnold, July 20; Patrick Coyle, July 3; Patrick Hoyt, July 3.

CHAPTER XI.

FROM THE POTOMAC TO THE RAPIDAN.—BRISTOE STATION.—ROBERTSON'S TAVERN.

JULY 4—DECEMBER 5, 1863.

THE work of the Fifteenth was not ended with the repulse of Pickett's charge. W. J. Coulter writes: "After the fight was over, our regiment, what was left of it, had to go out in front on picket. The rebels kept pecking away at us and we at them. We had to stay out all night. I took five prisoners. The next morning, the Fourth of July, we had orders to advance our picket line. As soon as we moved forward the rebels began to crack away at us. We fired until our ammunition was all gone, and we were relieved. All day the skirmishers kept firing, but there was not much heavy fighting done. The next morning when we came to view their lines, we found out that the rebels had gone. Then we buried the dead, and moved off after the enemy." The acting-adjutant, D. M. Earle, says that Lieutenant-Colonel Joslin was asked to send out a detail on picket on the night of the 3d. The number required was so large and the regiment so small, that Joslin said: "Let's take the whole regiment, colors and all," and they did so.

General Meade has been criticized for not immediately following up his advantage by making a counter attack on Lee, but when we remember the exhausted condition of the Army of the Potomac, the terrible losses it had sustained, the number of general and field officers who had fallen and the strong position of the enemy, we can recognize the reasons for the universal agreement of the Union and rebel

generals who were on the field, that a cautious policy was the wisest. Although a speedy retreat had become a necessity for him, General Lee was not averse to such an attack, and while preparing to withdraw, held his troops in readiness for any movement which might be made against him.

On the morning of the 4th there was a severe rain-storm to add to the miseries of the wounded, who were as yet, in many cases, without shelter. These wounded were, without regard to the side on which they fought, tenderly cared for by our men. The Union troops shared their coffee and crackers with the rebel prisoners. The muskets abandoned by the enemy were collected, and the bayonets stuck in the ground, so that there were acres of them "standing as thick as trees in a nursery." On the night of the 4th, Lee silently and secretly withdrew by the Fairfield road toward the Potomac, and on the following day, Sunday, July 5, Meade began his pursuit.

At two P. M. the Fifteenth started and marched six miles to Two Taverns. Then came a day of rest. On the 7th, it went five miles to Taneytown. On the 8th, Yeomans writes: "A hard, wet march of eighteen miles to near Frederick." It was on this day that the boys first heard of the capture of Vicksburg. Yeomans continues: "July 9. On through Frederick, Jefferson and Crampton's Pass (twenty miles).—July 10. On through Rohrersville and Keedysville; crossed Antietam Creek near battle-field (eight miles). Built breastworks of fence rails. Remained all night.—July 11. Went on about three miles. Formed line of battle. Sent out skirmishers. No engagement. About eleven at night fell in and went up about three miles. Remained until daylight.—July 12. Came back about three miles. Stayed till about four in the afternoon. Formed line of battle Sent out skirmishers. Rain. Built breastworks.—July 14. Marched to near Williamsport."

General Lee's rear had reached Hagerstown on the morn-

ing of the 7th. The river was found to be so swollen that crossing by the ford at Williamsport was impracticable, and the pontoon bridge had been partially destroyed. Therefore, the rebels intrenched themselves in a very strong position, while they waited for the river to fall and the pontoon bridge to be reconstructed. This position of Lee's was so strong that Meade's corps' commanders opposed making an attack upon it when he brought the matter before them on the 12th. When a reconnoissance in force was made on the morning of the 14th, it was found that Lee had crossed the stream during the night.

Thus the Gettysburg campaign was ended. Lee had inflicted great damage on the Army of the Potomac, but his own losses had been no less severe, and differed from those of the Northern army, in that, as all available men from the South were already in the ranks, they were irreparable. The victory of Gettysburg, taken in connection with those in the Valley of the Mississippi, gave assurance of the final success of Union arms and filled the soldiers with hope that the war would soon be over.

Meade sent Gregg's division of cavalry across the Potomac on the 14th, but the main body of the army did not cross until the 17th and 18th. Yeoman's diary continues: "July 15. Marched to the neighborhood of Harper's Ferry (seventeen miles).—July 16. Went on through Sandy Hook into Pleasant Valley (five miles). Camped. Drew clothing." This clothing was sadly needed, for W. J. Coulter writes: "Such a looking crowd of boys you never saw; dirty, ragged and poor." The two days of rest were highly appreciated, for the little remnant which was left of the regiment was utterly exhausted. On the 18th, Yeomans' diary states: "Crossed over to Harper's Ferry on pontoon bridge and the Shenandoah by new wire bridge. Went down the Loudon Valley about eight miles.—July 19. Went on to near Wood Grove (eight miles).—July 20. Went on to near Snicker's Gap and Bloomfield (eleven miles). Here there was another two days' halt."

W. J. Coulter, writing from Bloomfield on the 22d, said: "We find plenty of blackberries, and the boys are living high. The companies in the regiment have been consolidated into four companies. (Lieutenant C. M. Batchelder had been assigned temporarily to Companies A, H and I. Second-Lieutenant Henry C. Ward to Companies B, C and E.) When we get filled up with conscripts we shall have ten companies again. I wish the conscripts were out here now. I want to see them. I want to put some of them through the drill. I want to see them live on salt pork and hard-bread. I want to see them carry their knapsacks. All men should be willing to do their share. If they are not willing, then I say drafting is the thing." Six days later he writes: "Eight men have gone home from this regiment to bring out the conscripts for the regiment. How odd it will seem to get it filled up again."

Major Hooper had been detailed as inspector on the staff of the division commander, and was therefore away from the regiment. He was directed to stop at a house along the line of march to protect some ladies while the troopers were passing. He was so gallant that he delayed even after the corps had gone by, and then some of Mosby's men came from a piece of woods near by and captured him. He had just been detailed to go to the North to bring back drafted men, and was joyfully anticipating his return to his home. He was obliged to go to Richmond instead, while Lieutenant-Colonel Joslin was detailed to go after the drafted men.

At two o'clock P. M. on the 22d, the Fifteenth went on to Paris and Ashby's Gap, eleven miles. The next day was a hard one, for the regiment first marched to Markham Station on the Manassas Gap Railroad, and after a brief halt was ordered on with the rest of the Second Corps to Manassas Gap to help the Third Corps, which had become engaged with the enemy there. The paths were very rough, and it was midnight before the destination was reached. Then the men made coffee and bivouacked. The total distance for

the day was seventeen miles. As the rebels had withdrawn from the Gap without any very serious fighting, the regiment returned next day to Markham Station, which was five miles away. On the 25th, the march was continued to White Plain, twenty miles, and on the 26th, to Warrenton, twenty-three miles. Here there was a rest until the 30th, when, at about dark, the regiment set out as a rear guard to the wagon train. The movement was so slow that at two o'clock of the following morning only about five miles had been covered. Then, after bivouacking by the road until nine the next morning, the regiment went on some twelve miles to near Morrisville. On August 1, the camp was moved up further into the woods, and on August 4, it was moved again a mile or two, and on the 18th again there was a slight change. All these camps were known under one designation as the camp near Morrisville. For about six weeks, with brief interruptions, the Army of the Potomac rested and recruited along the north bank of the Rappahannock.

The well-conducted movements of Meade had cut Lee off from Loudon County, whither he had intended to withdraw, and made him fear for his railroad connections with Richmond. Therefore, he moved his army to Culpeper Court House, and later to the south bank of the Rappahannock. Before the middle of August, Longstreet's corps, with the exception of Pickett's division, had been sent to the aid of the hard-pressed troops in the West.

The Fifteenth Regiment, resting at its camp near Morrisville, was paid off August 3. The 6th was observed as a Thanksgiving day in the division. August 14, Captain Ellingwood, who commanded the regiment, as Lieutenant-Colonel Joslin was at the North and Major Hooper was at Richmond, ordered: "All enlisted men of this command who have not already done so, will at once construct beds in their tents to sleep on, raised at least one foot from the ground. Also, dig a trench to insure dryness."

The monthly returns for July, 1863, give the total number

in the regiment as five hundred and five. Of these, only eight commissioned officers and one hundred and thirty-nine enlisted men were present for duty. Of the nineteen commissioned officers absent; seven were on detached service and twelve sick (or wounded); of the enlisted men, one hundred and twelve were on detached service and two hundred and twenty-seven sick (or wounded). Although some returned in time from the hospitals, it is not probable that there were over two hundred men, who had belonged to the regiment previous to July, 1863, who were ever afterwards recorded on its rolls as present for duty.

The adding of two hundred "conscripts" to the regiment in the middle of August had a great influence upon its character. These men were for the most part substitutes for men who had been drafted. While there were some good soldiers among them, there were others who were professional bounty-jumpers. It was no easy task to get the conscripts to the regiment. Many jumped from the boat when they were being conveyed thither. The guards fired at them as they were swimming. Some were returned from the vessels to which they made their way. Later, as they were marching through dense woods, darkness fell before they reached the camp. The guard was small and the conscripts dashed into the woods in squads. Some of them were never retaken. The guarding of such men as these and the four hours' drill per day given to them, became an important element of camp-life at Morrisville. During the month of August alone forty-five desertions are recorded, and during September twenty-one more. Roll-call of conscripts was made every two hours between reveille and tattoo to prevent or detect desertion. Conscript deserters were brought in every day and used every device possible to escape identification.

In all some eighty-three of these conscripts were deserters or men who have no record of honorable discharge. Twenty-seven more were transferred to the navy April 23, 1864. A large proportion of the others soon found their way to the hospitals. Few were left for active service.

There were several executions for desertion from the division. Yeomans' diary, August 21, states: "Division turned out to witness execution of Jesse Maybury, Seventy-first Pennsylvania. Shot for desertion." August 23, patrols were ordered sent out to search for such conscripts as sought to become deserters or stragglers. August 28, Yeomans' diary says: "Division turned out to witness the execution of deserters." There were several cases in the division in which sentence to be shot for desertion was suspended by the direction of President Lincoln.

October 1, a member of the Fifteenth, found guilty of desertion, was sentenced: "To forfeit all pay and allowance now due him; to have one-half of his head shaved; to be dishonorably discharged; to be drummed out of the service of the United States in the presence of his brigade and then to be confined to hard labor for eighteen months on public works." Some months later another man of the regiment was sentenced to hard labor on Dry Tortugas for the rest of the war. The Fifteenth had one man shot for desertion. He was John Roberts of Company H. The brigade was called out to witness the execution at two p. m., October 30. This John Roberts was a substitute for Benjamin B. Russell. He was born in Hedford, County Galway, Ireland. He was twenty-one years of age and credited to Boston. He is recorded to have deserted September 3, 1863. He had been absent from his regiment but three days when arrested. The fact that Colonel Joslin, Captain D. M. Earle and others were detached to look after conscripts at Long Island, had its effect on the regiment. The two officers above mentioned asked to be relieved from this duty and to be allowed to return, but as General Devens felt they could not be spared, their request was not granted. In the early autumn Colonel Joslin was allowed to return and resume command of the regiment.

The rest in camp was broken at the end of August by an expedition with the rest of the Second Corps to Bank's

Ford, near Falmouth, for the purpose of supporting cavalry in the destruction of two rebel gunboats. The regiment started by daybreak and arrived at the ford at sunset. After remaining there until September 3 without special incident, the regiment started back at about six P. M. of that day, and reached Morrisville at two the next morning. "A hard march," said Yeomans.

As General Hancock, on account of his wound at Gettysburg, was absent from the command of the Second Corps, Brigadier-General William Hays remained at the head of it until August 12, when Major-General G. K. Warren was assigned to this position. He was a man entirely worthy even to be ranked with Sumner, Couch and Hancock, the other commanders of the corps. He was graduated at West Point in 1850. He had seen service as a topographical engineer under the government, as a campaigner against the Indians and as a teacher at West Point, before the Civil War broke out. At the beginning of the war he enlisted as lieutenant-colonel of the Fifth New York, and had risen step by step on account of his merits, until on February 1, 1863, he became chief topographical engineer of the Army of the Potomac. We have seen how he saved Little Round Top, and thus the fortunes of the day at Gettysburg.

General Gibbon was also kept by his wounds from returning to his command of the division, and was succeeded by Brigadier-General William Harrow, who served until his resignation, October 3. Then Brigadier-General Alexander S. Webb commanded the division. The First Brigade was commanded by Colonel D. W. C. Baxter, who was later assigned to the Second Brigade, while Colonel D. C. Heath of the Nineteenth Maine commanded the First. The First Minnesota, the companion regiment of the Fifteenth Massachusetts, was sent on detached service to New York, August 15, on account of the riots there, together with four other regiments from the corps. The First Minnesota did not return until September 16.

George C. Joslin received a commission as colonel of the Fifteenth, dating from July 4, 1863. He was the only one of those who were captains of the Fifteenth when it left Massachusetts who remained in the regiment at this time. On account of lack of numbers in the regiment, he never mustered as colonel.

I. Harris Hooper was made lieutenant-colonel of the regiment with a commission of the same date, though he was never mustered. His father, who was a brass manufacturer in Boston, on news of the attack on Sumter, telegraphed to his son who was then in Brooklyn: "Harris, you know your duty." His answer came at once: "I leave to-night." He served as a private in the Thirteenth Regiment, New York State Militia, May 14, to August 3, 1861. Soon after this term of service had expired he returned to his home. While there he was offered a commission by Governor Andrew. He accepted this, and entered the Fifteenth Massachusetts as a second-lieutenant, October 8, 1861. He was captured at Ball's Bluff and confined in Richmond. He was made first-lieutenant and adjutant of regiment, June 9, 1862. Of his notable service in the latter capacity, Lieutenant-Colonel Kimball speaks in the highest terms. He was severely wounded at Fredericksburg, but rejoined his regiment at the earliest possible moment. He had followed George C. Joslin as major on the grounds of merit alone. Lyman H. Ellingwood received a commission as major on this same July 4, but he also failed to be mustered.

General Meade having discovered that Lee had weakened his army by sending part of his troops to the West, determined on a forward movement. The Fifteenth left the camp at Morrisville, September 12, at ten in the morning, and marched some five miles to a point just beyond Bealton Station. Here it bivouacked near the railroad. At seven the next morning the regiment again started in a heavy rain. The Rappahannock was crossed at Rappahannock Station. The cavalry was in advance of the Second Corps.

The Fifteenth Regiment reached Culpeper Court House at four P. M., and encamped a mile and a half west of the town. As cannonading was heard toward the south along the Rapidan, the regiment was ordered to be ready to move at a moment's notice. No advance was made, however, until the 17th, when the regiment went to the Rapidan, where it arrived at noon. For the next seventeen days the Second Corps picketed along the river. There was considerable firing at the pickets by the enemy, who were in concealment on the south side of the river. September 21, the regiment was paid off. October 5, the Second Corps was relieved from picket duty by the Fifth, and went back on the next day to Culpeper. The Fifteenth encamped a mile or two north of the town. Meade's advance had been checked for a time by the powers at Washington. The Eleventh and Twelfth Corps had been withdrawn from his army and sent West.

On October 7, it was discovered that Lee was beginning a movement of some kind, but its character could not be ascertained at first. On the 10th, it appeared that he was attempting to turn our right. So Meade determined to fall back to the Rappahannock and attack him while crossing. On this day before the movement was determined upon, the Fifteenth had received orders to be ready to start, and had gone some four miles to the west and stood in battle line along some woods. Here the men bivouacked that night in the rear of their stacked arms. At two o'clock the next morning the pickets which had been sent out were recalled, and the army began its march by Brandy Station to Rappahannock Station. Crossing the river about noon, the regiment went on to a point one mile north of Bealton Station. Yeomans says: "A hard march of eighteen miles with eight days' rations at our backs."

On the 11th, there was an engagement at Brandy Station between the Union and rebel cavalry, and the fact that the rebel cavalry was accompanied by infantry, led Meade into

the error of supposing that Lee would concentrate his troops at Culpeper. He decided to attack him there, and on the 12th ordered thither the Second, Fifth and Sixth Corps, together with Buford's cavalry, for this purpose. The Fifteenth Regiment started early in the afternoon, crossed the Rappahannock, and went as far as Brandy Station before sunset. Here it bivouacked. A report from Gregg's cavalry on the 12th, made Meade aware that Lee was moving toward Warrenton rather than Culpeper, and he hastily recalled the troops he had sent south of the Rappahannock. The Fifteenth set out on its return a little after midnight, and went by Bealton Station toward Sulphur Springs. Here there was a halt of five hours, from seven A. M. until noon. Then the regiment hurried on to Warrenton Junction. The following order had been issued by Lieutenant-Colonel Joslin, October 12th: "The position of the companies in the line of the command is hereby changed from right to left in the following order: F, I, E, D, C, K, H, G, A, B. Companies will assume their positions as assigned above, when the regiment shall march."

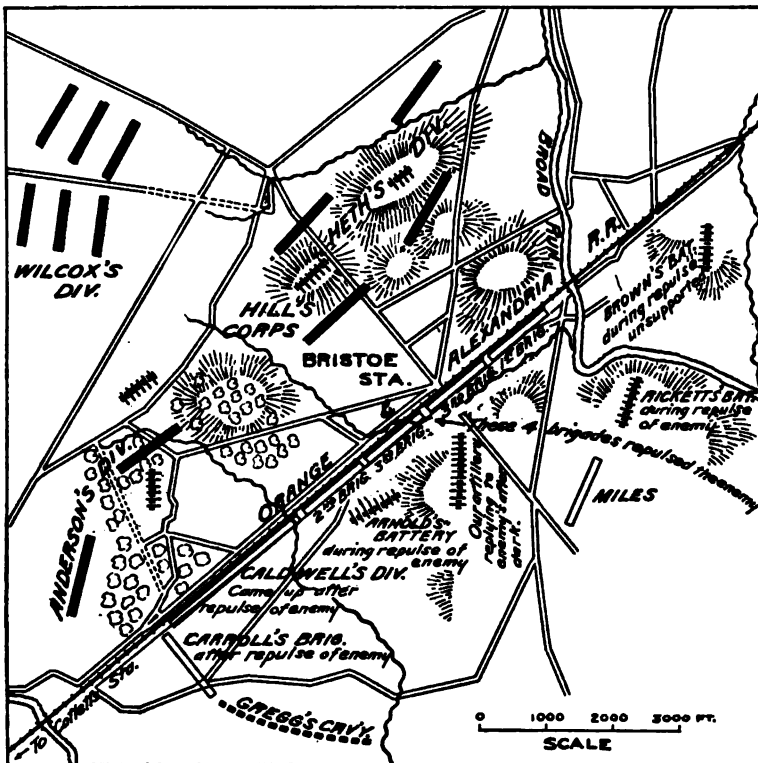
The position of General Lee's army was supposed to be such that General Meade decided to mass his troops at Centreville. In this movement the Second Corps acted as a rear guard. The orders for the corps were: "General Warren, Second Corps, will move to the railroad, passing by Catlett's house; keep on the south side of the railroad. Cross Bull Run at Blackburn Ford, and mass in rear of Centreville, looking toward Warrenton." In this movement the corps commanders were directed to keep in constant communication with the corps to the front and that to the rear. Meade had again mistaken the position of Lee's army through supposing that it had moved more rapidly than it really had. Lee was no less ignorant of the position of Meade's army, and was not therefore prepared to take such advantage of it as he might have done, by throwing his whole force on the Second Corps and annihilating it before

the other corps could come to the rescue. As it was, without any design of making an attack, Hill's Corps moved toward Bristoe Station by way of New Baltimore, and Ewell's, with the cavalry, by Auburn and Greenwich.

Thus, as the Second Corps set out on its march in the early morning of the 14th, it went at first toward, instead of away from the enemy. Gregg's cavalry soon became engaged, and was driven in. Carroll's brigade was sent to its support. Suddenly a new danger appeared, for as Caldwell's division, which was in advance, had halted and was making coffee on a hill near Auburn, a battery suddenly opened upon it from the front. With Ewell's corps, or half the rebel army on the left and rear, and an unknown force in front, what chance was there for the Second Corps to escape? It was soon found that the battery was J. E. B. Stuart's. A determined advance by Hays' division cleared the road, and the Second Corps moved on to Bristoe Station with Caldwell's division bringing up the rear.

Now General Sykes with his Fifth Corps had been very definitely ordered to remain within supporting distance of the Second Corps, while French, with the Third Corps, was to be within supporting distance of the Fifth, so that Warren had every reason to suppose that at Bristoe Station three corps could be gathered quickly, if needed. But both the Third and the Fifth Corps had hurried on to Centreville, supposing the enemy to be in that direction, leaving the Second Corps alone in the toils of the whole rebel army. Fortunately, Lee, not knowing the condition of affairs, did not mass his army for the attack to the best advantage. Ewell, instead of pressing on to the rear of the Second Corps, turned off towards Greenwich. Hill's corps, meanwhile, was advancing toward the point where the Orange and Alexandria Railroad crosses Broad Run. Heth's division of this corps mistook the rear of the withdrawing Fifth Corps for the rear of Meade's army, and was preparing to follow and attack it when General Webb with his division of

the Second Corps came up. The men were all worn out with loss of sleep and long marches and heavy burdens, but they moved at double-quick toward the crossing of Broad Run in the face of greatly superior forces of the enemy. They won the race and held the crossing. General Warren, arriving on the battle-field, saw at once with the quick decision of military genius the great advantage for defense offered by the railroad embankment with its two cuts, one



The first brigade of Webb's division was nearest Broad Run. To the left was the third brigade of that division. Then came Hays' division.

on each side of the stream. He made dispositions of troops as follows: Webb was on the right, Hays was in the center, and Caldwell on the left. Brown's battery was on the right of Webb and across the stream. The other batteries were on the hill and a little in the rear of the infantry. Gregg's cavalry was on the left near Kettle Run.

As the rebels charged toward the railroad, they were first met by the fire of Webb's division. The work of our artillery in this engagement was most remarkable. Although the rebels gained some temporary foothold at two points of the embankment, they were soon driven off, and the advance of our lines resulted in the capture of several hundred prisoners and some guns. Yet the Second Corps with its eight thousand men was alone face to face with the whole rebel army. Almost certain destruction seemed to impend. It was late in the afternoon, still there was an hour of daylight. This hour passed slowly by and the rebels failed to attack through some fault or delay in the execution of their plans. Thus the corps was saved; for under cover of the night Warren could withdraw. The report of Colonel George C. Joslin gives the part taken by the Fifteenth in this engagement:

"HDQRS. FIFTEENTH MASSACHUSETTS VOLUNTEERS,
"October 16, 1863.

"*Sir*: I have the honor to submit the following report of the part taken by this command in the engagement with the enemy on the afternoon of the 14th, near Bristoe Station:

"As we approached the above-named place the enemy suddenly opened fire with artillery, and I received orders to move to the right by the flank, and then by the left flank, forming a line of battle. Being on the right of the brigade at the time, we moved forward obliquing to the left to the railroad, where we halted, and the men were ordered to lie down under cover of the embankment of the railroad. At this place the Eighty-second New York Volunteers, which was formed on our left, moved in our rear and to the right of us, giving place for a battery.

"We remained but a short time in this position, when we were ordered to move by the [right] flank along the line of the railroad and across Broad Run at double-quick. A portion of the command had crossed the run, when orders were given to face about and move back at double-quick along the line of the railroad. While thus moving the enemy opened with musketry upon us without effect. We soon arrived at a position where the railroad covered us from the enemy's fire. Here we halted, and, forming upon the side of the railroad, immediately opened fire upon the enemy, who were advancing in a heavy line of battle. We kept up a steady and rapid fire, and repulsed the enemy after about an hour's fighting, with a loss of one officer wounded, and nine enlisted men, two of them mortally. [One more afterwards died.]

"As soon as the firing ceased, quite a large number of prisoners came in and were taken by my men. I was then ordered to send four companies to the front of our line of battle as pickets. At dark we withdrew from the line of the railroad, taking our line of march and leaving the four companies sent out as pickets to withdraw when the column had passed, and to join us on the following morning, which they did, at Bull Run."

Colonel Joslin makes an oral statement to the effect that the men lay on their left sides to fire over the rail. The front rank did all the firing, while the rear rank did the loading. Our men were not exposed to the rebels in front, but about twenty of them were daring enough to dash up on the right of the Fifteenth and fire on the flank of the regiment. It was thus that our men were wounded.

Captain Charles H. Stevens of Company A died from wounds received at Bristoe Station. He had risen through the various grades of office from sergeant to captain. He had been wounded at Fair Oaks and Gettysburg. He died as he was being carried to the hospital in Alexandria. Post 53, G. A. R., of Leominster, recognizing that no better citizen of the town had given his life in the country's service,

took his name as the name of their post. The three men mortally wounded were Corporal Samuel J. Stearns, Company B; George A. Davis, Company F, and Albert E. Hinckley, Company I.

General Francis A. Walker has most graphically told the story of the withdrawal: "General Warren gave the most punctilious instructions as to the withdrawal from the railroad embankment and cut. Until the troops were fairly across Broad Run no word of command was to be spoken above a whisper; each man was to keep his hand upon his cup and canteen that these might not rattle; and thus, in ghostly silence the corps was to steal away, marching by the flank across the enemy's front, within three hundred yards of their skirmishers and half-cannon range of their smooth-bore guns.

"Never will the writer of these lines forget the sights, the sounds, and the queer sensations of those hours of the early evening, when, slowly riding down the railroad, he saw each regiment, in its turn, quietly started on the long march that still remained to be added to the exertions of the last sixty hours. The little camp-fires of the Confederate host were burning at a hundred points across the plain still strewn with the dead of Heth's charge, and up on the hill beyond, where new brigades were even now coming up to the expected battle of tomorrow, the voices of the Confederate soldiers, in familiar talk around those campfires, the challenge of the sentinels, the low groans of the wounded, were borne on every breeze. Within the Union lines was silence and darkness; no campfires showed their flickering light, no hum of voices was heard, not a cigar was lighted in the column, as eight thousand men stole away from the presence of the great army which had for hours held them at its mercy. The five captured guns were not forgotten, but, having with some difficulty been furnished by Colonel Morgan with extra horses, accompanied the artillery brigade. Crossing Broad Run, partly by the ford and partly by the railroad, the in-

fantry made their way over the great plain stretching toward Manassas, and between three and four o'clock on the morning of the 15th, the jaded troops who, of the sixty-nine hours that had elapsed since they left Bealton on the morning of the 12th, had been in column on the road, or in line of battle, or skirmishing or fighting with the enemy more than sixty, carrying the heaviest load I have ever known troops to carry in campaign, were allowed to throw themselves upon the ground, on the left bank of Bull Run, near Blackburn's Ford, and for the time rest from their labors. Well may General Morgan say: 'This campaign, short as it was, was more fatiguing than that of the Seven Days on the Peninsula, since the marches were much longer.'" Colonel Joslin's comments on this account: "It is all right except the implied idea in regard to the cigars. He should have said pipes."

Yeomans' diary, October 15, contains the following entry: "Moved our position several times during the day. About two P. M. formed line of battle on the old Bull Run battlefield. Got shelled some, but no one hurt." The shelling was done by some Hotchkiss guns of Stuart's battery. The position of the Army of the Potomac as a whole was such that Lee deemed any attempt to attack it or make an advance movement of any kind inadvisable, and therefore, after destroying a portion of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad on the 18th, he began a retrograde movement.

While at Bull Run the First Brigade of the Second Division of the Second Army Corps was increased by the addition of the One Hundred and Fifty-second New York Regiment. Colonel DeWitt C. Baxter of the Seventy-second Pennsylvania was again in command of this brigade.

October 19, Meade began to follow Lee southward once more. Starting at about seven A. M. on this day, the Fifteenth went by way of Manassas Junction to within a short distance of Bristoe Station. Here it bivouacked for the night. October 20, the regiment crossing Broad Run

twice and Kettle Run once, marched on through Greenwich to a point near Auburn, not far from the camping-ground of the Thirteenth. After resting until the 23d, the regiment broke camp at seven A. M. on that day, and went some five miles to a camping place along the Warrenton Railroad. There a camp was established, and the men, thinking they had reached winter quarters, began to build log houses, and some even completed them. But Meade was only waiting for the repairs of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad to be completed. He had wished to make a movement to Fredericksburg and bring his supplies over the Fredericksburg road, but Halleck had forbidden the change of base involved.

November 7, the railroad having been put in good condition once more, the army pushed forward to the Rappahannock in two columns. The right wing, containing the Fifth and Sixth Corps, was under command of General Sedgwick. General French had the left, containing the First, Second and Third Corps. The former was to cross the river at Rappahannock Station, the latter at Kelly's Ford.

The Fifteenth broke camp at five in the morning. The men had drawn eight days' rations; many had also just received new articles of clothing, and weighted with these in addition to their usual burdens, they marched some eighteen miles over a dusty road. They bivouacked that night half a mile from the river. The Third Corps crossed on the 7th, and successfully attacked the enemy. The crossing of the Second Corps was made on pontoon bridges at sunrise the next morning. The Sixth Corps at Rappahannock Station captured some fifteen hundred prisoners. From the river an advance of about four miles was made by the Second Corps. The Second Division of the Second Corps went in battle-line by brigade, the Fifteenth Regiment being in the second line. Meade expected that Lee would meet him here, but he withdrew across the Rapidan. A camp was pitched at four P. M. With a change of two and a half miles

on the 10th to a log camp deserted by the enemy, the regiment remained here until the 24th. This was known as the camp near Brandy Station. The regiment was paid on the 17th.

As Meade discovered that Lee's line extended some eighteen miles from Mine Run on the right to the Barnett's Ford on the left, and that the lower fords of the Rapidan were unguarded, he resolved to make an attack on the rebel right under Ewell. He hoped to crush this wing before the other troops could be brought to its assistance. The orders were, for the Fifth Corps followed by the First, constituting the Left Wing, to proceed to Culpeper Mine Ford and thence to New Hope Church; for the Second Corps, the Center, to cross at Germanna Ford and thence to Robertson's Tavern; for the Third Corps followed by the Sixth, the Right Wing, to cross at Jacob's Mill Ford and thence to a junction with the Second Corps at Robertson's Tavern. The plan gave every promise of success if carried out promptly according to orders. A start was made on the 24th. Yeomans' diary says on that day: "Routed at three A. M. Left at five. Went on a few miles. Rainy, muddy day. Order countermanded. Returned to old camp."

It was not until the 26th, that the movement was begun again. French with his Third Corps did not reach the place of crossing until three hours after the appointed time. The pontoon bridges at both Germanna and Jacob's Mill Fords, on account of the rain, were one boat short, and later, there was difficulty in getting the artillery up the hill which rose from the stream. Hence there was such a delay that at dark of this day the Second Corps was only four miles from the river at Flat Run Church, and some on the Right Wing had not yet crossed the river. Meanwhile, Lee had been informed of the crossing and was gathering his forces to meet whatever movement Meade might contemplate, as best he could. On the morning of the 27th Warren advanced with the Second Corps to Robertson's Tavern, which he reached at about

ten o'clock A. M. Here Hays' division which was in advance met a division of the enemy. Webb, ordered to form on his right, hurried forward at double-quick and reached and occupied the crest of the hill just before the enemy got there. After a little fighting, the rebels withdrew. Caldwell's division deployed on the left. As French failed to come up, the Second Corps had to withstand the divisions of Rhodes and Early until night. Thus it was decidedly overmatched in numbers. There was sharp skirmishing while waiting for French. French had taken the wrong road, and Johnson's single division had been able to stand off the Third and Sixth Corps all day long. Thus all chances of pressing on before Hill's corps could be brought up were lost.

When an advance was made on the morning of the 28th through "the thick swampy woods," it was found that the enemy had withdrawn and established themselves in a very strong position along Mine Run. The day was spent by the Union leaders in examining these lines. As a result of the examination Warren reported that he thought an attack could be made on the extreme right of the rebels with good chances of success. A weak spot was also found by Sedgwick on the rebel left. It was arranged that an attack should be made under the leadership of these generals at the points they had respectively proposed. Warren was to command the Second Corps and Terry's division of the Sixth, in all some sixteen thousand men. He marched slowly on account of the rain of the previous day, by New Hope Church and some three miles or more beyond to the west on the Plank Road and an unfinished railroad which ran parallel to it. On the latter a detachment under Miles and later Hays' division encountered the outlying troops of the rebels, and on the former Caldwell's division was slightly engaged. As it was again growing dark before dispositions could be made for a general attack, it was delayed until the next morning. Warren, strengthened by two divisions of the Third Corps, was to open the attack at eight. Sedgwick was to advance

an hour later on the left. The soldiers anticipated a most bloody struggle and are said to have pinned their names on the inside of their coats so that they could be identified in case of death. The night was very cold. When the morning came, Warren found that the rebels had been so reënforced and had intrenched themselves so strongly that he thought the attack would be attended with such slaughter and so little hope of success that he asked Meade to abandon it. Meade acquiesced to Warren's judgment. As he considered it too late in the season for any new offensive movement, the Army of the Potomac returned into winter quarters. During this series of manœuvres neither army had gained or lost any important advantage.

Captain Charles H. Eager's report of the part taken by the Fifteenth in these battles is given in full with slight modifications, made under his direction:

"NEAR BRANDY STATION, VA.,

"December 3, 1863.

"*Captain.* I have the honor to submit the following report:

"The Fifteenth Massachusetts Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel George C. Joslin commanding, left camp November 26, 1863, with the other regiments composing the First Brigade, Second Division, Second Corps, and proceeded to Germanna Ford, on the Rapidan River. Crossed on the pontoon bridge a little before sunset, moved out a distance of about two miles, bivouacked for the night. Moved at sunrise on the 27th and, after a rapid march, halted near Robertson's Tavern, where a portion of the Second Brigade was already skirmishing with the enemy. This command was immediately ordered to deploy as skirmishers and join on the right of the Second Brigade, along a fence and woods.

"After remaining very quietly in this position for some two or three hours, Colonel Smith of the Seventy-first Pennsylvania Volunteers, in charge of the line, ordered the right of our line to swing forward into the woods to ascertain the locality of a certain road, the left advancing not more than

twenty yards. In so doing the right and center of our line became engaged with the skirmishers of the enemy, who almost immediately moved up a line of battle and this regiment was forced to fall back to its original position, and finally to a position about one hundred yards in the rear, on the crest of a hill, which position we held with the help of the Sixty-ninth Pennsylvania Volunteers, and drove the enemy back from the edge of the woods.

"During this engagement Lieutenant-Colonel Joslin was, in all probability, captured by the enemy; Captain Ellingwood severely and Adjutant Newbury mortally wounded, and has since died. The enlisted men wounded and missing were thirteen."

Colonel Joslin states that he had orders in a general way to extend the skirmish line, but received no explicit directions. He sent three men into the woods to see what they could find. They came back and reported the discovery of a cart-path. Colonel Joslin ordered five companies to advance as a skirmish line to this cart-path. Captain George W. Brown had command of this skirmish line. After a while, as the firing ceased, Colonel Joslin went forward himself to investigate the position of this line. He had gone only a few rods when he met a single soldier and inquired of him where Captain Brown was. The soldier replied that he did not know Captain Brown, and immediately brought his musket to full cock and demanded the colonel to surrender. Colonel Joslin, on looking about, saw a rebel battle line within a rod of him, and deeming that it was useless to resist was asked to be led to the commanding officer, and to him he gave up his sword.

The report continues: "At this time the command of the regiment fell upon me, and I was directed by Colonel Smith to move the regiment to the right and rear, having been relieved from the front by the One Hundred and Sixth Pennsylvania Volunteers.

"About sunset I was directed by an aide of General Webb

to again deploy the regiment and join on the right of the Eighty-second New York Volunteers, the line to swing forward to open the road by which General French of the Third Corps was expected to arrive, our line of skirmishers to be supported by the Nineteenth Maine Volunteers in line of battle. After advancing some seventy-five yards, a few shots were fired by the enemy, with no effect upon us. We continued to advance with one company as flankers, until the right of the line was nearly at a right angle with the First Minnesota Volunteers, who were on the extreme left of the brigade. At this time it had become so dark that it was impossible to tell friend from foe, and fearing a collision with our friends we decided to swing back the right in a position covering the said road, where we remained until half-past nine P. M., when we were relieved by the Nineteenth Maine Volunteers. The command bivouacked in the second line of battle for the night.

"At an early hour on the 28th, a line of battle, consisting of the Second Division, was formed near Robertson's Tavern (the Fifteenth Massachusetts being on the right of the First Brigade), and advanced through the woods in a westerly direction a distance of one and one-fourth miles, and remained quietly in line until the morning of the 29th, when the corps moved, via Robertson's Tavern, near New Verdier-ville. At this point, by the direction of Brigadier-General Webb, this command was deployed as skirmishers, and moved in an oblique direction from the plank road, a distance of six hundred paces, to guard against a surprise by the enemy. Were relieved by the One Hundred and Fifty-second New York Volunteers about eight P. M., and bivouacked near the road.

"November 30, were turned out at two-thirty A. M., and marched soon after to a position in front of the fortifications of the enemy, where we remained all day expecting orders to charge the works. Were withdrawn from the front with the rest of the brigade at about eight o'clock and bivouacked in rear of that position.

"About twelve o'clock on December 1, the First Brigade was ordered into a position, the Fifteenth in the second line on the right of the First Minnesota Volunteers. At seven P. M., was directed by Colonel Baxter to relieve the One Hundred and Fifty-second New York Volunteers at the front, and at eight-thirty o'clock to report with my command to his headquarters to move to the rear. We marched to Ely's Ford, on the Rapidan, and crossed on the pontoon bridge at nine A. M. on the 2d instant; halted at eleven A. M. and made coffee, and moved again at one P. M.; arrived at our old camp near Brandy Station about eight P. M.

"The conduct of both officers and men during the entire movement was unexceptionable, and all did so well it is difficult to particularize, but I cannot refrain from mentioning Assistant-Surgeon T. O. Cornish for his efforts in assisting the wounded from the field during the hottest of the engagements, regardless of his own personal danger, and of Adjutant Dwight Newbury, who showed determined bravery, and who was mortally wounded while conveying an order from the right to the left of the line."

Adjutant Dwight Newbury was one of the first lot of recruits added to the regiment. He enlisted as a private. He showed so little tendency to push himself forward that his worth remained unrecognized for over a year. At last, April 9, 1863, he was made sergeant-major, and he received an appointment as adjutant and a commission as first-lieutenant to date from July 4, during the same year. Colonel Joslin says of him: "He was a most faithful and efficient sergeant-major and I promoted him to be adjutant in recognition of his excellent service in that position. During the short time he served with me as adjutant he was an admirable officer."

Yeomans says of this return march: "Twenty-four hours of hard marching. Tired, muddy and sleepy. About thirty-five miles' tramp. Found all our houses burnt. Went to work and built new ones." This house-building proved to be wasted labor, however, for December 5, the regiment moved

four miles to a position about a mile north of Stevensburg, where it finally settled for the winter.

Charles Devens, George H. Ward, John W. Kimball, George C. Joslin stand prominent in the length of their actual command and the strength of their influence among those who guided the fortunes of the Fifteenth, and now the last of them was gone to return no more to its leadership. The firm discipline which he had always maintained had become so habitual that it was not relaxed even in his absence, but certain wise plans which he had matured for the future of the regiment failed of execution because of his capture.

The following account of his prison life was written under the direction of Colonel Joslin: "He spent the first night of his captivity on the field at the headquarters of General Early, which consisted merely of a squadron of cavalry, a few wagons containing headquarters supplies, and such officers and men as would naturally belong to a general's movable outfit, the general and the principal part of his staff being all night in the saddle, occupied in moving and arranging his troops to meet the expected attack from the Union army on the following day. Just before midnight, and after having lain down about a campfire for the night, this party was moved to the rear, something like a mile, where they remained for the balance of the night.

"The following morning Colonel Joslin was sent under cavalry guard to the railroad station at Orange Court House. This was a long tramp on foot, through rain and mud. Being placed on the cars, he was conveyed to Gordonsville, reaching there late in the evening, where he was thrown into a filthy guard-house, used for the confinement of Confederate soldiers, several of whom had balls and chains on their ankles. There being no lights, however, it was too dark to see much of them or the dirt. Before daylight the next morning, he was taken from this place to a building near by in which had been placed quite a large number of Union prisoners who had arrived during the night.

"Next day this whole party was taken by cars to Richmond. Upon arrival in Richmond, Colonel Joslin, being the only officer, was taken to Libby prison, the enlisted men of the party going to Belle Isle or elsewhere. His reception here by the thousand Union officers representing all parts of the country, eager for news from the front, knowing from Richmond papers that the movement of our army had taken place, was something remarkable. Cries of 'Put him up on a barrel,' 'Speech, speech,' 'News from the front,' etc., greeted him on every side from the howling mob. Refusal was vain, and he was obliged to comply. At the close of his recital of the army's movement, Major Hooper of his own regiment, who had proved to be an interested member of the audience, came forward and gave him a brother officer's greeting.

"Major Hooper, who had been some three months a prisoner, had been fortunate in receiving from his relatives at home some food supplies and necessary articles of clothing, and he at once took Colonel Joslin into his mess and shared with him these luxuries, so that in a couple of hours' time he had been introduced to many and made to feel as much at home as was possible in a rebel prison. A few weeks after this, Major Edmonds of the Thirty-second Massachusetts arrived as a prisoner and was invited by Colonel Joslin and Major Hooper to join their mess, and each of the three from time to time were remembered by their friends at home with supplies of various kinds. Their prison days passed without being dependent upon rebel supplies of food, and their sufferings were mostly confined to sleeping upon a hard floor with scanty clothing. The time had necessarily to be occupied in playing games, such as chess, whist, cribbage and checkers, reading such limited matter as they were able to get, and extending their acquaintance among the thousand or more other officers. During the winter many schemes for escape were conceived and partially carried out, but none successfully, except the digging of the famous tunnel from the cellar of the building, some fifty-nine feet under the street to

an opening in a vacant lot the other side, through which one hundred and ten of the prisoners passed out in one night. As this was discovered on the following day, it could not be again made use of. But a limited number, and those by luck and chance, could avail themselves of this opportunity to escape, Major Hooper being one of this number, but Colonel Joslin being forced to remain. About half the men who escaped were captured and brought back during the next few days.

"At the commencement of General Grant's campaign in Virginia, in the early spring, the prisoners in Richmond, for greater safety, were moved to Georgia—the officers to Macon, the enlisted men to Andersonville. This trip was the hardest part of Colonel Joslin's prison experience, several days being consumed in transportation, in box cars, fifty-five men being in the car in which he was, and often side-tracked for hours. The change to Macon was in many respects a change for the better, the prison pen for the officers being a new one in the open ground, enclosed simply by a high board fence, and not previously occupied. After some six weeks spent here, the fifty officers highest in rank were sent to Charleston, South Carolina. This number included only generals, colonels, lieutenant-colonels, and majors. Charleston was then being shelled by Union artillery on Morris Island, and it was supposed that this body of officers was taken there and placed in buildings within range of the shells for the purpose of inducing the Union general to cease shelling. The effect, however, was quite different. The government at Washington was notified of the placing of these officers in Charleston, and a like number of high-ranking Confederate prisoners were sent to Morris Island and placed in the rear of the Union guns. In a few weeks this action brought a proposition from the Confederate government to exchange the fifty for fifty. Early in August this exchange was effected. The fifty Union officers, being placed on shipboard, sailed down the harbor to the vicinity of Fort Sumpter, where a

Union boat was met having on board the fifty Confederate officers. Preliminaries were soon concluded, and the two vessels came side by side, a gang-plank was put across, and as the name of each Union officer was called, he walked the plank to the Union vessel, the Confederates doing the same in their turn. Sailing out of the harbor, the vessel bearing the Union officers passed through the line of blockading monitors, which fired a salute, and further on, as the admiral's vessel was reached, an invitation was signalled to come along-side. On the admiral's ship were Admiral Dalghren, commanding the fleet, General Foster, commanding the army, General Sickles, who was making a tour of inspection along the coast in a ship provided for his use, and the fifty officers, some of whom had been prisoners for more than a year, were invited to board the admiral's ship. After the introductions, all were invited below to partake of lunch. During their stay, General Sickles extended an invitation to the fifty to dine with him later in the day on his vessel, which was, of course, accepted. At the close of the day the officers were again taken to the vessel which had conveyed them from Charleston, and the following morning found themselves docked at Port Royal, Hilton's Head, where they were directed to go ashore and receive two months' pay each. They then returned to the vessel and passage was made to New York city, the fifty being under command of the senior general, who, on arrival in New York, handed each a written order to proceed to his home and report to the war department for orders. This Colonel Joslin did, arriving in Worcester late at night, August 9. After waiting some two months, hoping for assignment to some duty which might enable him to remain in the service until the close of the war, he received orders to proceed to the nearest mustering officer and be mustered out of service, his regiment having already been mustered out, their three years of service having expired in the July previous."

Major I. Harris Hooper has told most graphically the

story of his escape from Libby. Only a brief abstract of this most interesting story can be given here.

It was in January, 1864, that he was informed by a friend that a tunnel from the cellar of the prison was being dug, by which some of the prisoners hoped to escape. This tunnel as finally completed, was so small in diameter that, in order to pass through, it was necessary to lie flat on one's face, propelling with one hand and the feet, the other hand being thrown over the back, to diminish the breadth of the shoulders and carry with greater facility overcoat, rations, etc." The opening to the tunnel was made by lifting out the bottom of the fireplace in the cook-room.

It was February 9 before the tunnel was completed. On the evening of that day Major Hooper was summoned to the execution of the plan of escape, which he, Lieutenant Randolph of the Fifth United States Artillery, and Colonel Tilden of the Nineteenth Maine, had arranged. Going to the cook-room they found a great crowd of prisoners, each waiting impatiently for his turn to descend. A stampede caused this crowd to disperse and gave to Major Hooper and his friends the desired opportunity. This was eagerly seized. They entered the cellar. Lieutenant Randolph went through the tunnel first, then Major Hooper, after waiting for him to complete his passage, followed. "In I went," says he. "So well did the garment of earth fit, that I doubt if there was much windage, for at moments my movements corresponded somewhat to those of a bolt forcing its way through a rifled gun." At last he reached the end. Then came Colonel Tilden. Soon they were standing in "the shadow of a low brick arch, outside of which a sentinel paced backward and forward, coming sometimes within two yards." By creeping along by the house walls when his back was turned, one after another, they managed to get around the corner. "By rapid strides they reached the vacant lots and the straggling lanes of the outskirts." It was half-past one A. M. Suddenly, when they were beginning to feel confidence, two men were seen

near at hand and coming toward them. "Running was out of the question. Force must be met by cunning..... But when on the point of meeting, one of them broke for the woods, flying through the brambles like a madman." His comrade, who did not run, proved to be a Connecticut captain, who had preceded them through the tunnel. This captain, failing to find his companion, joined Major Hooper and his friends. Daylight found them in the open fields, but they made their way into a thicket. Here they lay in concealment until night came. Then they started again, but they found to their surprise a line of fortifications within a pistol shot of their hiding place. "Turning back was absurd; to the right or left equally so, as the forts and rifle-pits were of interminable extent. To go on seemed madness," but they advanced, "trusting that fortune would be kind. No click of musket lock, no challenge of sentinel." They found the works as "deserted and silent as the grave." They passed on to the swamps of the Chickahominy with its weird sights and haunting memories. They crossed the stream on "a tree of mighty size." They were "miserably cold and more than miserably weary." The next morning they found a negro, who gave them some food. They spent the day also in the forest, and at night hurried on their course in accordance with the directions gave them by the negro. The next day they spent in a negro cabin. They always found the blacks most ready to assist them.

The fourth night, in crossing a lane, they suddenly came upon two horsemen. One of them was singing a familiar college song. Major Hooper and his companions threw themselves on the ground. "No one dared to look, but each felt instinctively that the dreaded discovery had been made, and nerved himself for the moment, when the shout of a comrade and the rattle of ready carbines would call courage to test in a life and death encounter." But they were unnoticed, and soon heard with great joy the notes of "Upidee" growing faint in the distance. After another day in the loft

of a negro cabin, they were ferried across the Pamunkey. Here they were put in charge of a negro who promised to assist them after he had attended a plantation ball. They waited in sound of the music and dancing until he was ready, and then went to an old shed for the day. Two white men searched this shed but did not find them.

Thus they were passed on their way by the negroes from one plantation to another. One night they were taken to an island in the Pamunkey River where a small remnant of the tribe of Powhatan was living. The Indians received them hospitably. Here they were detained two days by a severe snowstorm. The cold was so intense that water was "frozen solid" in a bottle in a haversack.

From the island they continued their journey on an oyster boat. West Point, some thirty miles down the river, was the place they were seeking to reach. Through the night they rowed with nervous energy, but the daylight found them far from their destination. Then they curled up in the bottom of the boat, while the negroes rowed on. Luckily the sentinel allowed the boat to pass without even a hail.

One day more in a negro cabin, another night in a swifter boat upon the river, and they were at last close upon the Union lines. As they neared a bridge across a brook they heard the familiar challenge, "Who comes there?" "Friends! Friends!" they cried, while thoughts of home and liberty choked their hearts. It did not take long for the sentinel or corporal of the guard to become satisfied that all was right. Then they crossed the bridge and stood a moment, "grasping each others hands, free at last."

CHAPTER XII.

THE FINAL CAMPAIGN.

DECEMBER 5, 1863—JULY 28, 1864.

The report of the adjutant-general of Massachusetts for 1864 says of the Fifteenth: "Of the monotony of camp-life (of the winter of 1863-4), but little either of value or interest may be said or written. The duties performed by the regiment were few and unvarying. Some miles distant from the camp ran the Rapidan River, its banks lined with the pickets of the hostile armies. In this duty of picketing, the regiment had its share. A force of officers and men, proportioned exactly to the number present for duty, was detailed every third day, and proceeded to their station on the river. They were relieved at the expiration of their tour of duty by a like number. About one-third of the regiment (present for duty) were thus constantly on duty during the winter. Owing to the severity of the weather, drills were for the most part suspended. The regiment was quartered in huts hurriedly constructed by the men in the month of December, 1863, after returning from the Mine Run expedition. These huts were certainly neither regularly built or ornamental in design, but were well arranged and comfortable within. The surgeon's reports for the winter months showed that the health of the command was quite as good as the average troops in the field."

The monthly returns give as present: for December, fifteen officers and two hundred and thirty-nine men; for January, fourteen officers and two hundred and sixty-eight men;

for February, twelve officers and two hundred and forty-eight men; for March, eleven officers and two hundred and thirty-seven men; for April, thirteen officers and two hundred and seventy-four men. In December, two hundred and ninety-nine men were absent, of whom one hundred and eighty-two were on the list of sick or wounded. The sick and wounded gradually recovered or were discharged for disability or transferred to the Veteran Reserve Corps, so that in April there were only one hundred and five on this list. A large number were "absent with leave," especially during the months of February and March, in the former twenty-eight, in the latter forty-eight. From January to May forty-eight recruits were received. In the five months following December 1, 1863, two hundred and one names were dropped from the rolls. The total number remaining on the rolls at the end of April, 1864, was five hundred and forty-three.

December 11, 1863, Governor Andrew urged that the regiment should be consolidated as new companies could be formed more easily than old ones could be filled up. Captain Charles H. Eager, then commanding the regiment, wrote December 17, 1863, to the adjutant-general of Massachusetts:

"In reply to your suggestions for consolidating the companies of the regiment, I would say that I regret exceedingly that Colonel Joslin is not present to express his views on the subject. Situated as I am, I did not feel like submitting my views alone in the matter, therefore I have consulted the other officers of the regiment and find them, without exception, decidedly opposed to it. You are of course aware of the fact that this regiment was organized very differently from many of the Massachusetts regiments. While they were raised almost entirely through the general recruiting depots, this was made up of companies already organized in certain towns. The regiment has always been as it should be, the unit. At the same time each company has had a

pride in its own organization and shown a desire to vie with others in drill and discipline, and judging from the interest those towns have ever shown in the welfare of their respective companies it would be a matter of keen regret to them to learn that their organization had been annihilated. As the term of service of the regiment is so nearly completed, it is thought desirable at least to maintain each company's organization."

From this time on and even before, there was a continuous pressure for consolidation brought to bear by the state authorities which was strenuously resisted by the officers of the regiment. Right here the loss of Colonel Joslin had a deep influence on the history of the regiment. In the absence of field officers the Fifteenth was for four months under the command of line officers, who hesitated to assume, as we have seen, while acting temporarily for others, the responsibility of initiating measures which might have been for its good. The questions of consolidation and reënlistment were especially affected. Doubtless if Colonel Joslin had not been captured the regimental organization would have been maintained to the end of the war, for before November 27th he had perfected plans and secured pledges having this end in view; but in his absence, as those in authority were not acquainted with these plans and pledges, and felt that it would be presumption for them to take upon themselves the responsibility of originating new plans and securing new pledges, the regimental organization was lost.

During the winter the question of reënlistment was one of great interest. Any one who reënlisted after September 23, 1863, who at the date of reënlistment had less than a year to serve, received a bounty of four hundred and two dollars. His new term was to begin from the date of reënlistment, and he was to be granted a thirty days furlough. February 26, 1864, there were two hundred and thirty-five men entitled to reënlist under these terms, including the number who had reënlisted. Fifty-five did thus reënlist, and

Captain George W. Brown, then commanding the regiment, wrote: "Of the remaining, a large proportion have signified their willingness to reënlist, provided the regiment be ordered to Massachusetts to reorganize and recruit. There can be no doubt but that three-fourths of the remaining number would reënlist, and in my opinion a much larger proportion." As the regiment was not allowed to return home to reorganize there were no more reënlistments. The First Minnesota was more fortunate in this respect, for it was sent home February 5, 1864, and having been reorganized and recruited in Minnesota, as the First Battalion, rejoined its old brigade June 11.

February 6, 1864, as a movement against Richmond was contemplated by General Butler, General Meade made a show of aggressive action that none of Lee's troops might be sent to oppose him. Of the part taken by the Fifteenth in this movement Yeomans says: "February 6. Routed out at four A. M. Went down to Rapidan, six miles, to Morton's Ford. The Third Division of our corps forded the river and engaged the enemy. After dark our division crossed on bridge. Deployed as skirmishers." 'Be you Ohio?' Cold, rainy night.—7th. Remained until one A. M. Recrossed and remained in line on the river bank all day. After dark came back to our old camp. Mud! Mud! Mud!" As Butler's movement failed, there were no important results from this auxiliary feint of an advance.

The only other notable fact in camp for the winter was the payment of the regiment for two months, on February 21. The furloughs given to those who had reënlisted and to some extent to others, were deeply enjoyed. A large portion of these men had not been home since August, 1861. The greetings of families and friends, the gathering up of the long lost threads of their former life, the narration of strange experiences to spell-bound listeners, the grateful recognition by those at home of the heroic patriotism displayed, all combined to fill those days with delight, tem-

pered with sadness by the changes which had occurred among those whom they were meeting after so long an absence and by the losses their own ranks had sustained.

A circular issued from the headquarters of the Army of the Potomac, in April, authorized the expenditure of ten rounds of small ammunition for practice as, "It is believed there are men in the army who have been in numerous actions without firing their muskets, and it is known that muskets taken on the field of battle have been found filled nearly to the muzzle with cartridges."

The opening of the spring was marked by the consolidation, under the advice of General Meade, of the First Army Corps with the Fifth, of the third division of the Third Corps with the Sixth Corps, and of the first and second divisions of the Third Corps with the Second Corps. General Warren had command of the enlarged Fifth, General Sedgwick of the Sixth, and General Hancock, who had now recovered from the wound he had received at Gettysburg, of the Second. It is worthy of note that all of these corps commanders were men who had been connected with the Second Corps. Burnside's Ninth Corps had also been summoned to act with the Army of the Potomac, but remained as an independent organization. These four corps had in the aggregate about one hundred and twenty thousand men. General Sigel's army in the Valley of the Shenandoah and General Butler's in the Valley of the James, co-operated directly with that of Meade. General Lee's army contained only about sixty thousand men, but it had the advantage of acting on the defensive and along interior lines.

The three old divisions of the Second Corps were consolidated into two; those added from the Third Corps became the third and fourth divisions. In the Second Corps as thus formed, there were, March 31, 1864, forty-three thousand and thirty-five men, of whom thirteen thousand three hundred and six were absent. By the last of April the corps had been increased by recruiting some three thousand

more. General Gibbon still had command of the second division of the corps and General Webb of the first brigade of that division. In this brigade were the Nineteenth Maine, the Fifteenth, Nineteenth and Twentieth Massachusetts, the Forty-second, Fifty-ninth and Eighty-second New York and the Seventh Michigan.

The Fifteenth with its thirteen commissioned officers and two hundred and seventy-four enlisted men, present for duty April 30, was a smaller proportionate part of the brigade, of the division, of the Second Army Corps and of the Army of the Potomac as a whole, than it had ever been before. For this reason it will not be necessary to enter with so much detail into the movements of the closing months during which the regiment remained in service.

March 9, General Ulysses S. Grant received a commission as lieutenant-general of the armies of the United States. Henceforth these armies were to act as a unit for the overthrow of the confederacy under the leadership of one whom three years of warfare had shown to stand foremost among the Union generals in the comprehensiveness of his plans, in the poise of his mind and in the tenacity of his purpose. As General Grant made his headquarters with the Army of the Potomac, he exercised a more immediate supervision over the movements of this army than over those of the other armies, although, to use his own words, he "tried as far as possible to leave General Meade in independent command." April 22, there was a review of the new Second Corps by General Grant. General Morgan speaks of it as "the finest corps review" he had ever seen in this army.

From the beginning of the campaign, General Meade was directed to make Lee's army his objective. This army was intrenched along the southern bank of the Rapidan for a distance of some eighteen miles. It might have been possible, by transporting the Army of the Potomac by water to the Valley of the James, to have called Lee to Richmond and to have met him first within the fortifications about that

city. General Grant, however, keeping the end of crushing Lee's army in view, thought it better, as he says, "to fight him outside his stronghold than in it."

It was possible, also, to attack his position along the Rapidan by moving by the right flank or by the left. It was decided that Lee's army could be attacked to the best advantage by trying to turn his right flank by a rapid concealed march. It was midnight of May 3 when this march began. Sheridan's cavalry led the way. The Fifth Corps crossed at Germanna Ford and went on to the Wilderness Tavern. The Sixth Corps crossed at the same point, but halted with its rear near the ford. The Second Corps, preceded by Gregg's cavalry, crossed at Ely's Ford and went on to Chancellorsville. This point was reached at about ten A. M. on the 4th, after a march of some twenty miles.

Lieutenant T. J. Hastings writes: "The day was hot and the march rapid. It was the first hard work for many months, and as the sun got high and the pace told on the men, they began to throw away the accumulations of the winter. . . . Goods in great variety, but mostly clothing, with not a few books, were scattered on the roadside for miles. Extra clothing did not seem necessary with the thermometer up towards ninety, and books, though pleasant enough companions for a soldier in camp, are but sources of misery when they serve to tighten the infernal grip of knapsack straps on his shoulders."

These three corps encamped in the positions named until the next day, waiting for Burnside's corps to come up. Of course Lee, early on the morning of the 4th, had become aware of the movement, and was rapidly concentrating his army to meet it. It was for Lee's advantage to fight in the Wilderness, whence he had driven General Hooker discomforted a year before. In these thickets it was impossible to handle large bodies of men to advantage, and the tactical ability, in which Meade's army was especially strong, had no opportunity for exercise. Moreover, the artillery would be

practically useless. If Warren, Sedgwick and Hancock had only been ordered to move on a few miles further before halting on the 4th, a much better ground would have been found for the manœuvring of their troops.

When the march was resumed on the morning of the 5th, Warren found the troops of Ewell on the turnpike within two miles of Wilderness Tavern. At first these troops were supposed to belong to the rear of the retreating rebel army; therefore the force sent against them was small. A temporary success was gained, but soon Ewell repelled Warren's attacking column, inflicting a severe loss.

Hancock, whose leading division was already ten miles to the left, having passed beyond Todd's Tavern, had been ordered to halt his troops there to await the issue of Warren's encounter. Two hours later, at eleven o'clock, he was ordered to move on the Brock road to its intersection with the Orange Plank Road. General Getty, with a division of the Sixth Corps, held with difficulty this strategic point against Hill's corps until three P. M., the hour of Hancock's arrival. When Getty advanced on the Plank Road at four P. M., he found himself engaged with a large force well posted for meeting such an attack. Hancock hurled his corps forward "in repeated and desperate attacks" until darkness fell, but in vain. In this blind death grapple in the tangled thicket, where not even the commander of a regiment could see all of his men, many yielded up their lives. Up to this time Webb's brigade had not been seriously engaged, although it reached the scene of action at about five P. M., and was under a "very annoying fire."

Lieutenant Hastings has written: "As we approached this point, the storm of battle burst with fury from the woods. Like a strong wind it swayed our still moving column many feet from the road. The roll of musketry reverberating in the forest was like the roar of a mighty cataract. At this moment I saw on the rising ground, a little in rear of the line, a woman on horseback, facing with perfect composure

the storm of lead. Her bearing was erect and resolute. She seemed to the astonished and worshiping eyes of the soldiers almost like a goddess to whom the din and destruction of war had no terrors. In a moment the column swept on, and the vision was but a memory."

At five o'clock on the following morning Hancock's attack was renewed with redoubled vigor. The combined advance of Getty's division of the Sixth Corps, Wadsworth's division of the Fifth Corps, Mott's and Birney's divisions, together with Owen's and Carroll's, and later, Webb's, brigades of Gibbon's division from the Second Corps, all under the command of Birney, proved irresistible. Hill's lines were broken and driven for a mile and a half along the road and through the woods. On account of the disordered condition of his victorious troops, Hancock ordered a halt for reorganization. Meanwhile Longstreet's corps and Anderson's division of Hill's was rapidly coming up to restore the routed rebel lines. Thus these lines were able to assume the aggressive once more. Gibbon had been left on an elevation with the artillery and Barlow's division to guard against an expected advance of Longstreet on the left. Owing to a misunderstanding a great gap was opened between his troops and the remaining forces under Hancock. Into this gap the enemy penetrated, turned the left flank of Birney's column of attack and wrought sad havoc. Birney, though reluctant to do so, was obliged to withdraw to the fortifications at the intersection of the Brock road. A wound received by General Longstreet retarded the Confederate advance. As soon, however, as General Lee had his troops well in hand, he sent them forward against Hancock's intrenched position. But they were unable to drive back the Union lines. It was at this time that the woods took fire and the intense heat was almost harder to endure than the bullets of the enemy, and the smoke added still greater uncertainty to the movements of that most mysterious of conflicts amid those low thick trees, where the men could see neither the enemy nor their

own commanding officers, where the firing was guided by the flashes from the opposing lines.

The confused nature of the battle is very evident from General Webb's report of the action of his brigade. He says: "At about six A. M. I received orders from General Gibbon to move to the right to the Plank road and report to Major-General Birney, which was promptly done. General Birney ordered my command to deploy to the right of the Plank road and move forward to join Brigadier-General Getty of the Sixth Corps. I deployed and advanced as ordered. . . I, of course, failed to find the lines of General Getty, since I do not know that any of our troops ever had been where I was ordered. We met the enemy in force and engaged him. . . . From this moment to the time when my line was destroyed by the forcing in of the troops on my left, I was left totally unaware of any special object in disposing of my command." The Fifteenth was with General Webb in all these movements. The reported casualties of the Fifteenth in this engagement were four killed, sixteen wounded and three captured or missing.

A letter of one who accompanied a relief expedition after the Wilderness, says: "Tired stragglers were constantly coming in through the night, some of them terribly wounded, and yet they had managed to crawl or hobble twenty or thirty miles. Along the road that wound up the steep hills and followed the ridge of them far away, came trains of heavy six-mule army wagons, showing white against the sky, loaded with wounded men. It seemed an endless procession, and as it moved on and on it was wonderful to see the patience in the pinched, suffering faces, and the gratitude for the poor gift of food."

Neither of the generals felt inclined on the 7th to make any movement upon the intrenchments of his opponent. Each had lost about the same per cent. of the forces engaged and the troops had become thoroughly exhausted by the struggle. On the evening of the 7th the Union army moved

southward, to seize Spottsylvania Court House, which was some fifteen miles distant from the Wilderness Tavern, and thus cut off Lee from Richmond. Warren started at nine P. M. by the Brock road. Hancock followed by the same line. Sedgwick and Burnside went by Chancellorsville. Delays in Warren's movement, for which that commander was in no way responsible, and the burning of the woods which caused Anderson, then in command of the wounded Longstreet's corps, to move along the parallel road from Parker's store, even earlier than he was ordered to do so, prevented the seizure of Spottsylvania Court House and precipitated the fiercest conflict in which the Second Corps was ever engaged. As Warren found the desired position occupied when he arrived, he made an attack upon it and discovered the enemy there in force, and therefore waited for Sedgwick to come up. Later in the afternoon the combined corps advanced against the enemy, but accomplished little.

Hancock was held at Todd's Tavern during the 8th, in anticipation of an attack on our rear. Gibbon's division was, however, sent to the support of Warren early in the afternoon, but was not engaged during the day. It bivouacked on the night of the 8th in the rear of the Fifth and Sixth Corps. On the 9th, after several changes of position, it crossed the Po River, just before dark, on the day General Sedgwick was killed. On the morning of the 10th, Gibbon's division was called back to assist the Fifth Corps in an attack on the position of the enemy. Webb's and Carroll's brigades were in the assaulting line, while Owen's was held in reserve. Twice they were hurled against the rebel lines and twice, after the most heroic efforts, they were repulsed. Gibbon's report says that the position held by the enemy "was in a dense wood, filled with dead cedar trees, whose hard, dry branches, projecting like so many bayonets from the stem, rendered the movement of a line of battle in any sort of order utterly impracticable." The only results of the two assaults was to kill and wound a large number of men,

many of whom were burnt to death by the fierce conflagration which raged in the burnt timber. It was here that Lieutenant George B. Simonds of Company G was killed. He was the brother of Captain Clark S. Simonds, who was killed at Antietam. George B. Simonds had enlisted as a private in Company B. He had been wounded at Ball's Bluff, but returned to his company as soon as he was able. A friend said of him: "His gentle and quiet deportment and almost boyish appearance gave little token to those who did not know him intimately, of the stern devotion to duty and manly courage which inspired him.

Barlow's division, which was the last to withdraw from beyond the Po, had a notable conflict with the enemy, but finally succeeded in recrossing without serious loss. The 11th was spent in making intrenchments, and no heavy fighting was done.

On the 12th came the struggle at the "salient." Here Ewell's line made a sharp angle which seemed to offer a vulnerable point of attack. Hancock was in charge of the assault. As Gibbon's division was in sight of the enemy it was moved last. A position near the enemy's works had been gained during the night. At four-thirty on the morning of the 12th the order to charge was given. Birney and Barlow were in the advance, Gibbon was in reserve. Such was the impetus of the attack that the rebels were swept from their works and driven half a mile beyond, to their second line. Johnson's whole division, some four thousand men, was captured. Just as Gibbon's division, which had been sent forward in support, was approaching the second line of works, General Webb was seriously wounded.

Soon the rebels gathered all their available forces to drive back Hancock's column, which had become disorganized by the very completeness of its victory. Step by step it was forced back to the lines of the salient first taken. There, on the outer side of the intrenchments, having been reënforced by two divisions of the Sixth Corps, it made a stand. Gen-

eral Francis A. Walker says: "For the distance of nearly a mile, amid a cold, drenching rain, the combatants were literally struggling across the breastworks. . . . Never before since discovery of gunpowder had such a mass of lead been hurled into a space so narrow as that which now embraced the scene of combat. Large standing trees were literally cut off and brought to the ground by infantry fire alone; their great limbs whipped into basket stuff, that could be woven by the hand of a girl. On either side a long ghastly procession of the wounded went limping or crawling to the rear; on either side fast rose the mounds of dead, intermingled with those who were too severely hurt to extricate themselves from their hideous environment. The trenches had more than once to be cleared of the dead, to give the living a place to stand."

It was midnight before the rebels in despair gave up their vain attempt and withdrew to construct new lines of defense. The Union troops slept where they had fought. The same chill blanket of drizzling mist covered the living and the dead, and it would have been hard to tell which slept the more soundly.

A comprehensive description of the battle would require us to speak of the unsuccessful attack of General Warren, but as far as the Fifteenth was concerned, the battle of the 12th centered about the salient and the regiment deserves a full share of the glory of that immortal struggle. From its depleted ranks fourteen are reported to have been killed or mortally wounded. This was in all probability fully ten per cent. of the number actually engaged, a percentage greater than was lost by the regiment in any other battle except Antietam and Gettysburg.

General Webb was succeeded in command of the brigade by Colonel H. Boyd McKeen of the Eighty-first Pennsylvania. On the 16th, Tyler's division of the heavy artillery and the Corcoran Legion were added to the Second Corps. The eight thousand men of these two organizations just about balanced its losses,

On the 18th an attack was made from the salient on the interior line of the enemy. McKeen's brigade displayed great gallantry and met with severe losses, as did the other attacking troops. Nothing was gained by this move. On the 19th the enemy attacked Tyler's artillery, and were repulsed.

Yeoman's diary contains the following entries: " May 13. Moved down a little to the left, engaged slightly.—May 14. Remained in line all day, not engaged.—May 15. At daylight moved up toward the left. Stayed a few hours and came back.—May 16. In the afternoon went out a few miles to guard ambulances bringing in our wounded.—May 17. Remained quiet until dark. Moved up to rebel breastworks.—May 18. At daylight moved on the enemy's works again. Hard fight. Lasted all the forenoon. At night moved up further toward the left about seven or eight miles.—May 19. At dark, fell in and went back a little way to repel attack on train.—May 20. Came back, remained all day till about twelve at night; moved on.—May 21. Marched all night on through Guiney's Station, Bowling Green and Milford. Hard, hot march. Crossed Mattaponi River. Regiment went out on picket at night.—May 22. Remained on picket till night. Went back to line.—May 23. Moved on at seven A. M. to the North Anna River. Some skirmishing. Built breastworks on top of hill near the river. Remained there all night.—May 24. Crossed river on rude bridge without opposition. Built breastworks. About four P. M. went out supporting skirmishing line. Lively skirmish till late at night. Stayed out all night.—May 25. Rain at daylight. Moved on in line during day. Built breastworks.—May 26. Remained until after dark. Recrossed the river.—May 27. Moved on down to the left.—May 28. Crossed Pamunkey River at Nelson's Ford near Newmarket. Regiment deployed as skirmishers. Got shelled. Advanced in line and remained out all night as pickets.—May 29. At night relieved and joined brigade.—May 30. Moved on a few miles. Formed

line.—May 31. Moved on a few miles at night. Regiment deployed as skirmishers. Dug rifle-pits. Remained out all night and next day.—June 1. Made an unsuccessful charge on enemy's works. After dark moved on to the left. Marched all night."

Such were the movements of these twenty days as they appeared to one of the men under this terrible strain, of marching and countermarching, of building breastworks, of almost continuous skirmishing and picketing, of sleepless nights and unceasing vigilance in the presence of a watchful foe. The strategist sees Grant and Meade vainly striving for some twelve days to find a vulnerable point in Lee's line at Spottsylvania or turn it by a flank movement, and finally, having been foiled in every attempt, moving once more toward the South in order to draw the rebels out from their impregnable position by attempting to interpose between them and Richmond. Had Lee's army still retained its old aggressive force, it might have attacked the divided Army of the Potomac on the march with a good chance of a notable victory. But the rebel force was too weak for this, and contented itself with so moving along the better and shorter roads under its control so as to present a firm defensive front whenever an opportunity offered.

The first point of meeting was at the North Anna on May 23. Warren, Wright and Hancock all crossed the river, the two former to the west and the latter to the east. Hancock's corps did valiant work in forcing the passage. On the 24th, Smyth's brigade, assisted by five other regiments, among which was the Fifteenth, made a spirited advance and carried a line of the enemy's works, and then stubbornly resisted a counter attack in the midst of a furious storm. Lee held lines which it would have been madness to assault, between Hancock and the other corps and resting on the river. The position was so unpromising, that, without venturing any general attack, the Army of the Potomac moved south once more on the night of the 26th, the Second Corps covering the rear and not starting until the morning of the 27th,

The rebels were next encountered intrenched behind the Totopotomoy Creek on the 30th. Here there was vigorous skirmishing as Lee's position was developed, but the next great struggle was at Cold Harbor.

The loss of the Fifteenth from May 22 to June 1 was two killed and ten wounded. The monthly report shows that at the end of May there were seven commissioned officers and one hundred and thirty-three men present for duty. This indicates a loss of about one hundred and thirty for the month of May.

The story grows more terrible as we proceed. Every line is written in blood. Cold Harbor was a point of strategic value, as a meeting place of roads leading to Richmond on the one hand, and to White House, the base of supplies for the Army of the Potomac, on the other. Sheridan had occupied it June 1. Later, the Sixth Corps and the Eighteenth, called from Butler's Army of the James had taken possession. The Second was ordered up as it usually was when there was any bloody work on hand. It had been so misled that the night of the 1st was passed on the march, a night made breathless by the intense heat and the dust. The condition of Hancock's troops was such that when they did arrive on the morning of the 2d they were unfit for an assault, and so it was postponed until the 3d. Then Grant's favorite order came for "an attack all along the line." The rebels were well intrenched in a strong position, with the swamps in front. Just after half-past four the corps of Hancock and Wright and Smyth and Warren, supported by Burnside, moved forward. This advance took ten minutes, and ten thousand men were lost. General Gibbon says of the attack made by his division:

"The country was rolling, in places intersected by ravines and marshes, and my line was cut in two by a deep, impassable swamp, which widened as we advanced toward the enemy. The troops pushed gallantly forward under a most terrific fire of cannon and musketry until close up to the enemy's works,

General Tyler fell severely wounded early in the action, but his troops pushed on, followed on the right by McKeen, who, following his orders, struggled against the heavy fire of the enemy until himself and many of his gallant command lay dead upon the field, and his ranks were much thinned and scattered. The gallant Haskell succeeded to the command, and was almost immediately carried from the field mortally wounded in a second attempt to rush upon the enemy's works. From the 3d to the 12th the division was occupied in perfecting its position and pushing forward works toward the enemy constantly under fire, both cannon and musketry, day and night. During these twelve days the labor and military duty of the division were of the hardest kind and performed under the most disadvantageous circumstances—confined for ten days in narrow trenches with no water to wash with and none to drink except that obtained at the risk of losing life. Subjected to the heat and dust of midsummer, which soon produced sickness and vermin, the position was indeed a trying one, but all bore it cheerfully and contentedly, constructed covered ways down to the water and to the rear, and joked of the hostile bullets as they whistled over their heads to find perhaps a less protected target far in the rear of the lines. I regard this as having been the most trying period of this most trying campaign."

In concluding his report he especially commends, among a few others, Captains Wheelock and Gale. The loss of the Fifteenth in killed and wounded was fourteen, between June 1 and 15. General Byron R. Pierce was made commander of the brigade.

General Grant now determined to change his base, as McClellan had done three years before, to the James river. This movement for the Fifteenth began on the night of the 12th. On the 13th, it crossed the Chickahominy.

Captain Thomas J. Hastings, when the last regimental flag was returned to the state, thus described the events which led up to its loss:

"On the 14th of June, 1864, the Second Corps being in the advance of the Army of the Potomac, crossed on transports to the south bank of the James river, and on the next day took the road to Petersburg. Late in the evening of the day the division of the corps to which the Fifteenth was attached, reached the lines before the city. After working on the intrenchments all night, officers and men waited expectantly through the next day for the order to assault. This order never came, but on the 17th and 18th, heavy but unsuccessful assaults were made on the now strongly manned works. These assaults, historians of the war, say, mark the end of a system of tactics which had made the campaign from the Wilderness to the James, the bloodiest in the annals of the war.

"Thenceforward direct assaults on fortified positions were to be rare. The strategy which nine months later was crowned with success, of reaching out to the left to cut the southern communications of the rebel army, was to begin. And in this movement the Second Corps, as was usual in important movements up to this time, took the lead. My diary says that on Monday, June 20, we were relieved by the Sixth Corps, and moved to the rear about two miles. I recall that a rumor, which veteran soldiers will recognize as of familiar sound, spread through the ranks of the regiment that the corps was now to be held in reserve, to rest and recruit after its months of arduous and wasting service. Alas, to most of our gallant boys, rest was only to come amid the horrors of rebel prison pens, or in graves under the gloomy pines of Andersonville.

"June 21, we moved about four miles toward the Weldon railroad, skirmishing by the way. At nightfall intrenching was begun near the Jerusalem plank road, and continued until two o'clock in the morning of June 22. At this hour we moved out to the skirmish line. It was in a swamp, covered with a thicket of undergrowth so dense that even in the light of the morning sun one could scarcely see from

flank to flank of our little battalion, numbering now less than a hundred men. On this line a shallow rifle pit had been dug in the black, peaty muck. Daylight discovered a clearing in the front, and the enemy's works closely fronting us, on high ground, completely dominating the position. From these works a worrying fire of pickets and sharpshooters was constantly kept up. Lieutenant-Colonel I. Harris Hooper was in command of the regiment.

"The colors were borne by Sergeant C. H. Bartlett of Company F, now of North Brookfield. At about two P. M. orders came from the brigadier commanding to hold the position at all hazards. Our eyes were strained to the front for the onslaught of the foe with whom the expected struggle was to come. But suddenly, without warning, except the discredited reports of a few men straggling in from the left, a considerable force of the enemy appeared in our rear. General, afterwards United States Senator Mahone, one of the most enterprising and skillful of Lee's lieutenants, had seen from his vantage ground a place where the Union lines failed to meet. It appears like the old story of somebody's blunder. Through this open gate the watchful and untiring rebel chief pushed his men, and sent them swarming down from the left in our rear. With the enemy in front, flank and rear, surrender was inevitable.... The tattered shot-riddled flag was seized by hostile hands, and the eventful history of the Fifteenth as a regimental organization was ended."

When the surrender of this remnant of the regiment was seen to be a matter of necessity, Color-bearer Bartlett hid the flag in a ditch, hoping to save it; and after the surrender he endeavored to creep back, thinking he might escape with it to the rear. Being detected, and asked what he was after, he replied that he was searching for a blanket; he was immediately hurried along with his captured comrades, the flag being subsequently found by the Confederates, who kept it nearly thirty years.

"First Sergeant George E. Barnard of Company D was

killed here. A man of massive build and indomitable courage, the service that he rendered to his regiment and his country from Ball's Bluff to Petersburg can scarcely be overestimated. He passed through all the previous battles of the regiment without serious harm and he fell, literally, with his face to the foe, on the fatal day when the colors of the regiment he served so well went down in disaster." Four officers and some sixty-five men were captured; six, who were on the right of the regiment escaped, among them Lieutenant-Colonel Hooper, but he was wounded shortly after.

Although the history of the regiment as an active organization in the field ended on the 22d of June, we must follow briefly the story of the various groups into which the members were divided until they were finally mustered out. First, however, we must give the names of those who had sacrificed their lives.

No list of those who had died from disease since the beginning of the Antietam campaign has yet been given, but one after another, often without the knowledge of their comrades, they had passed silently away. The following is the list as far as it can be perfected:

Company A—Francis L. Lander, Jan. 15, '63; John G. Snow, Dec. 12, '62; David Welsh, July 9, '64; William L. Whitney, Nov. 14, '62.

Company B—Sylvanus Doane, Dec. 24, '62; Thomas Scolly, March 19, '64; George J. Spooner, Dec. 27, '62.

Company C—William Eccles, Jan. 4, '63; John Smith, date unknown; Egbert M. Stevens, Feb. 8, '63.

Company D—William Finch, March 24, '64; Joseph Freeman, Nov. 22, '63; Edson T. Leland, Sept. 12, '62; Charles H. Nichols, July 2, '64.

Company E—Owen Tonar, Feb. 26, '64.

Company F—John A. Hughes, May 16, '63; Albert W. Livermore, Jan. 18, '63.

Company G—Corp. Gilbert E. Balcolm, Dec. 12, '62; Henry S. Ball, Dec. 7, '62; William Robins, Sept. 8, '63.

Company H—John T. Bixby, Sept. 12, '63; Dexter Brown, Dec. 16, '62; William J. Cole, May 10, '64; James F. Dunn, Feb. 7, '63; Timothy Kennedy, Nov. 4, '62; Nathaniel Putnam, Oct. 10, '62.

Company I—Corp. Thomas Blasland, Dec. 25, '63; Corp. Joseph Holland, Nov. 21, '62; Alpheus Remick, Feb. 27, '64; James Smith, July 14, '64.

Company K—Sergt. W. Henry Freeman, April 8, '63; James Burns, Sept. 9, '63; John F. Tozier, April 27, '64.

Unassigned—Lysander Martin, June 19, '63; Jeremiah Sullivan, Dec. 19, '63.

During the seven weeks in which the Fifteenth participated as an organization in the campaign of May and June, 1864, thirty-seven of its members were killed or mortally wounded. This loss must have been fully twenty-five per cent. of the average number present for duty. This remarkable per cent. of loss, so far excelling that of all other campaigns in which the Fifteenth had taken part, gives evidence of the terrible nature of the struggle and the grand heroism with which the regiment performed every duty allotted to it.

Soldiers of the Fifteenth killed or mortally wounded May and June, 1864:

Company A—Sergt. George E. Wilder, May 16, '64; Corp. Nelson T. Batherie, June 30, '64; Corp. Joseph M. Howe, May 12, '64; Corp. William Kelley, June 19, '64; Charles Ackerman, Nov. 11, '64; John Morrissey, Feb. 16, '64.

Company B—Corp. Horace T. Pope, May 15, '64; Thomas J. Peckham, June 3, '64; Edward M. Stone, June 3, '64.

Company C—Sergt. Lafayette Worden, June 15, '64; James A. Bonney, May 31, '64; John H. Cowan, May 25, '64; Sumner R. Kilburn, June 16, '64.

Company D—First Sergt. George E. Barnard, June 22, '64; Corp. William H. Bergen, July 11, '64; Albert Megan, July 28, '64.

Company E—Corp. George S. Williams, May 13, '64;

George P. Davis, May 8, '64; Henry Konch, May 31, '64; Bernard Schmidt, May 8, '64; Felix Sherbino, May 8, '64; George Shortsleeve, June 5, '64.

Company F—Corp. William A. Mullett, May 23, '64; Corp. Elliot H. Robbins, July 15, '64.

Company G—Sergt. Abner H. Rice, May 5, '64; Curtis Cady, June 3, '64; Joseph Bonner, May 6, '64; James Perry, May 6, '64; C. A. Rockwood, May 31, '64.

Company H—Sergt. Edward R. Harrington, July 30, '64; Corp. John F. Butters, May 12, '64.

Company I—Sergt. William H. Palmer, May 6, '64; Merrick L. Clark, May 12, '64; John Smith, July 14, '64.

Company K—Lieut. George B. Simonds, May 10, '64; Alonzo M. Jones, June 5, '64.

On the 22d of June, 1864, from eighty to one hundred members of the Fifteenth were in hands of the rebels. This number included not only those who had just been captured, but others who were taken at Robertson's Tavern in the Wilderness and elsewhere.

Lieutenant Thomas J. Hastings thus relates his own experience and that of the three other commissioned officers captured, Captain James May, Lieutenants William J. Coulter and George O. Wilder:

"We bivouacked two nights near Petersburg. Friday, the 24th, the captured officers were taken by rail to Libby prison. Here our money was taken from us. I turned over to the prison authorities the fund of two hundred dollars and fifty-two cents, which I held as regimental treasurer. After the fall of Richmond I received this, and in the summer of 1865 had the satisfaction of handing it to Captain Leonard Wood, the then treasurer of the regimental association. We stayed at Libby till the 29th, when all the captured of the 22d inst., were taken by rail to Lynchburg. From this place we marched by easy stages to Danville, Virginia, reaching there July 4. Captain Adams, now sergeant-at-arms at the Massachusetts legislature, then a youthful officer of the

Nineteenth Massachusetts, was with us, and his exuberant spirits seemed proof against the worst that misfortune and hardship could do. On this march some of the prisoners escaped, notably that tried and trusty soldier, Sergeant A. B. Yeomans of Company E. From Danville we were taken in box cars to Macon, Georgia, arriving there July 10. We were turned into a stockade already crowded with over fifteen hundred Union officers, a sorry looking set. Many of them were officers of the First Corps, captured at Gettysburg a year before. We could get no shelter from sun or rain. July 22, Kilpatrick's raiders, for some time held in close confinement, came in from Richmond. July 30, there was much excitement in the stockade and discussion of plans for a break for liberty caused by Stoneman's raid, which reached a point one and one-half miles from the city, where most of the command were captured. August 1, General Stoneman and forty of his officers were brought in. August 13, the last of the Macon prisoners left for Charleston, ostensibly to be put under the fire of our guns, which were then shelling the city. At Charleston we were quartered in the work-house and the jail-yard adjoining. The rations here were mostly of rice, very inferior in quality but ample in quantity. I find noted in my diary that on September 27 a piece of shell struck the prison. This was the only tangible reminder we had of being under fire. In the autumn yellow fever broke out in the prisons. Immediate removal being then necessary we were taken, October 6, to the famous Camp Sorghum, near Columbia, South Carolina. Here we were turned into an open, desolate pasture, with no provision whatever for shelter. For a few hours each day the lines were extended so that the men could go to an adjoining woodland for fuel, boughs and logs. Thus the strong and efficient were soon able to build huts or booths in some degree comfortable. The sick and the weak had to suffer and endure as they could. The climate of the highlands of South Carolina is cool, and as winter approached there was much suffering in

camp. As early as October 23 it was cold enough to freeze water. Escape was easy, but most of us were too ragged or shoeless or weak from illness to try it. Nearly all who did go were, sooner or later, brought back.

"On December 12, the prisoners were moved up to the city to quarters on the asylum grounds, where barracks were soon provided. Here we stayed till February 14, when the approach of Sherman's army caused another move, this time towards the North, and, as it proved, for exchange. We passed into our lines free men at Fisher's Bridge, eight miles from Wilmington, North Carolina, at nine A. M. on Wednesday, March 1, 1865."

The story of the enlisted men coincides with that of the commissioned officers until they reached Danville, except in that they spent July 26-29 at Belle Isle, instead of Libby. Andrew B. Yeomans made his escape July 1, just after leaving Lynchburg. The following day, Alvan A. Simonds and Roland E. Bowen got away from the guards. After suffering many hardships and passing through many thrilling adventures all these reached the Union lines.

From Danville, the main body of the prisoners was marched on to Andersonville, where they met several members of the regiment who had already been suffering there for months. The diary of Sergeant S. W. Armington of Company D, contains the record in the closing days of August. "All the members of the Fifteenth are here with us now." It is not our purpose to tell of the horrors these men endured; the exposure, without protection, to drenching rains and burning suns; the guards watching so sharply for the first victim who should approach the death line; the garments tattered, sometimes wholly lost or discarded; the emaciated bodies, covered with filth and vermin, because the men were too weak to take care of themselves; the foul water, each draught of which meant hastened death; the vile food, rotten and full of worms; the men sometimes losing all human semblance, and becoming drivelling idiots or

ravenous wild beasts in the fierceness of their hunger tearing the food from the lips of starving comrades. When we see how many of these men died and how many, who were released have since been carried to early graves by the diseases they incurred, we can faintly realize something of their sufferings.

Soldiers from the Fifteenth who died in prison:

Company B—Peter Christenson, Andersonville, July 15, '64; Anson P. Peckham, Andersonville, Aug. 22, '64; Robert O'Brien, Charleston, S. C., '64.

Company C—Corp. Charles L. Shaw, Andersonville, Dec. 19, '64; Corp. David O. Wallace, prison at Florence, S. C., Feb. 4, '65; Joseph Clegg, Richmond, Va., Feb. 28, '64; James Coates, Andersonville, Oct. 11, '64.

Company D—First Sergt. Benjamin Taft, Salisbury, N. C., Jan. 15, '65; Warren H. Alger, Andersonville, Aug. 14, '64; Joseph Copeland, Andersonville, Dec. 21, '64; Francis W. Eaton, Andersonville, Sept. 29, '64; John Givan, Andersonville, Oct. 6, '64; Charles A. Gleason, Milan, Ga., Nov. 8, '64; Alfred M. Goodwin, Salisbury, N. C., Sept. 1, '64; George B. Newcomb, Andersonville, Aug. 27, '64.

Company E—Corp. Joseph E. Fellows, Andersonville, March 29, '65; Herbert N. Fuller, Andersonville, Feb. 20, '65; William Gannett, Andersonville, Oct. 6, '64; John Grob, Andersonville, Sept. 9, '64.

Company F—Harrison Moulton, Jan. 25, '65.

Company G—Donald A. Campbell, Andersonville, Feb. 16, '65; Michael Dugan, Andersonville; Henry A. Frissle, Richmond, Va., March 7, '64; William Hart, Andersonville, Sept. 6, '64; Walter H. Stetson, Andersonville, Aug. 22, '64.

Company H—Corp. Andrew W. Garside, in prison at Milan, Nov. 15, '64; John J. O'Connell, Andersonville, Nov. 27, '64; Frederick Pontius, Andersonville, Oct. 17, '64; James Quinn, Andersonville, July 29, '64.

Company I—William F. Converse, date and place unknown; Daniel Guilfoyle, Salisbury, N. C., Dec. 15, '65;

Patrick Mulvany, Andersonville, Dec. 10, '64; William Sigil, Richmond, Va., Feb. 17, '64; Antoine Phillips, Andersonville; William Streidell, Richmond, Va., Feb. 17, '64; Patrick Sullivan, Andersonville, Aug. 11, '64; William M. Trescott, Andersonville, Sept. 6, '64.

Company K—Charles Clark, Salisbury, N. C., Dec. 21, '64; Thomas Waif, Andersonville, Aug. 2, '64; Joseph White, Andersonville, Aug. 2, '64.

Those on duty who escaped capture June 22, and the few who returned from the hospitals, or from detached service, were assigned temporarily to another command. The members of Company I as a whole, since their term of service did not expire until August 5, and all those who had enlisted later than July 12, 1861, except under General Order 28, and those who had reënlisted were for some two weeks following July 12, 1864, set apart as the Fifteenth Battallion, and as soon as arrangements could be perfected, transferred to the Twentieth. The story of their service in that regiment is briefly told after the Individual Record.

From the various hospitals, from different points of detached service and to some slight extent from the field, all those who remained members of the Fifteenth on the 12th of July, 1864, and were not kept back by captivity or physical inability, joyfully prepared to return to their homes. Some eighty-five men were all that could be gathered at this time. This was only about five per cent. of the total number who had belonged to the regiment. Perhaps as many more were mustered out during the following year, individually or in squads, as their condition enabled them to leave the hospitals, as they were released from prison or as their term of service in the Twentieth and other organizations to which they had been transferred, expired.

The little remnant of the regiment, composed in a considerable measure of men who were still weak from disease or wounds, reached Worcester on the 21st of July. On the following day a reception was tendered to the regiment

by the city, in which every citizen did his utmost to honor the returning heroes.

Premising that the regiment was mustered out with little formality, one week later, on the 28th of July, let us close with the words in which Governor John A. Andrew, at this reception, expressed the gratitude of the state to her sons, who had so nobly served in her behalf.

"Mr. Commander and Soldiers of the Fifteenth:

"The heart of the Commonwealth speaks the affection and gratitude of her people as no words can speak, or head can think. For three years of war, stretching from the upper waters of the Potomac, your long and wearied march down athwart the fields laid waste by the havoc of battle to the James; returning thence, marching and countermarching ever—now tasting the rebuffs of war, now charging with undiminished valor, though with decimated ranks, wherever commands pointed the soldiers' way or foe man invited their coming; with victory perching on your banners and death leaping from your bayonets, the Fifteenth at last returns, their term of service ended, leaving the proud, victorious eastern army of the republic lying only in rest a moment, that it may march to still higher triumphs and strike from the heart of Massachusetts to the heart of the rebellion. . . .

"The people have spoken for themselves. These crowded thoroughfares, these house-tops lined with mothers, sisters and daughters of your people, waving welcome to the returning soldier boy, these crowded fields, where beneath the monumental record of the fame of the old Fifteenth they come to grasp you by the hand, speak ten thousand times more eloquent words of greeting than human speech can utter, for the old Commonwealth. Soldiers of the Fifteenth, with inexpressible emotion of pride and gratitude, in her behalf and as her representative, I greet your coming, I give praise to your valor, I laud your patriotism, I record the virtues of the citizen and the soldier, which in the history of

your regiment is graven impenetrably on the recollection of mankind.

"There has been no nobler name, there has been no brighter fame than this, and I know not now whether to envy most the throbbing hearts of the fathers, brothers and sons returning once more to the fond embrace of those at home, or the beatified joy of the spirits of those who, ascending from the din of the fight, have borne up upon the wings of their patriotism their love and devotion to their holy duty to hallowed spheres on high.

"To you we give the fond grasp of affectionate embrace; to you, the survivors of the Fifteenth, we extend the escort, the salute, the pledge of gratitude. Over the unmarked graves of those fallen, but forever risen heroes, we shed the faithful tear of memory; we bear to them forever in our hearts all honor and fame. . . . For them the strife is over, the storm has ceased, the struggle ended, but soldiers, both your names and theirs, borne upon the rolls of the glorious Fifteenth Regiment, will be read in after times with equal honor and with equal gratitude. The death they tasted you have dared, the victory for which they have shed their blood your valor has helped to win."

INDIVIDUAL RECORD.

In order that as many facts as possible may be stated within certain fixed limits, the utmost condensation and abbreviation has been attempted. All the enlisted men of the regiment were mustered July 12 and the officers August 1, 1861, unless otherwise stated. The line officers in general were taken into the service of the United States July 12, 1861, although their muster into office was delayed. July 27, 1864, was the date of the transfer to the Twentieth of those whose terms of service had not expired and of those who had reënlisted. July 28, 1864, was the date of the expiration of service of the original members of the Fifteenth who did not reënlist; July 16, 1865, the date on which the members of the Twentieth coming from the Fifteenth were mustered out. These dates will not be repeated.

B. B., signifies Battle of Ball's Bluff, October 21, 1861; F. O., Battle of Fair Oaks, May 31, 1862; Ant., Battle of Antietam, Sept. 17, 1862; Gett., Battle of Gettysburg, July 2-3, 1863; Dec. 13-16, First Battle of Fredericksburg; May 3, 1863, Second Battle of Fredericksburg; Oct. 14, 1863, Battle of Bristoe Station; Nov. 27, 1863, Battle of Robertson's Tavern; May 6, Battle of the Wilderness; May 10 and 12, Battle of Spottsylvania; June 3, Battle of Cold Harbor; June 22, 1864, signifies the Battle of Petersburg or Weldon Railroad.

In addition to the usual abbreviations for special words the following are employed: p., private; b., birthplace; res., residence; cr. credited to; s., single; m., married; m. i., mustered in; m. o., mustered out; re., resigned and honorably discharged; dis., discharged for disability; des., deserted; reën., reënlisted; tr., transferred; V.R.C., Veteran Reserve Corps; U.S.C.T., United States Colored Troops; sub., substitute for a drafted man; d., died; k., killed; wd., wounded. A number standing alone refers to age at date of mustering in. G. O. 28, was the General Order by which men enlisted for the remainder of the term of service of the original members of the regiment.

For Field and Staff Officers, see pages 7-8,

COMPANY A.

The members of this company were natives and citizens of Leominster, and were credited to that town unless it is otherwise stated in each particular. For the history of the company before the date of muster see pages 15-20.

George W. Rockwood, capt. Co. A to Jan. 25, '63; b. Charlton; 38; m.; painter; pris. B. B.; ex. Jan. 10, '63; com. 15th Reg't in Jan., '63; re. Jan. 25, '63; served as 1st sergt., 4th H. A., Aug. 20, '64-m. o. June 17, '65.

Hans P. Jorgensen (Jørgensen), 1st sergt.: b. Copenhagen, Denmark; 30; s.; piano-maker; 2d lieu. Oct. 22, '61 [see Cos. D and K]; 1st lieu. July 19, '62; capt. Oct. 28, '62; recruiting officer, Worcester; com. Co. A June 13-Dec. 29, '62 and as capt. March 22, '63-July 2, '63; wd. B. B.; k. Gett.

David M. Earle. See Co. F. Capt. Co. A Dec. 23, '63-June 4, '64, on det. serv.

Henry T. Dudley. See Co. G. Com. Co. A April 17, 26, June 18, '63, temporarily, and Sept. 1, '63-June 27, '64; capt. Co. A June 4, '64.

Joseph M. Goddard. See Co. B. Com. Co. A Jan. 21-June 12, '62.

Charles H. Stevens, sergt.; b. Bellerica; 26; m.; cabinet-maker; 1st sergt. Jan. 1, '62; 2d lieu. July 19, '62; 1st lieu. Nov. 21, '62; capt. July 4, '63; com. Co. A Dec. 30, '62-Mar. 21, '63 [see Co. I]; wd. F. O., Gett., B. S.; d. Oct. 15, '63, wds. B. S.

George O. Wilder. See Co. C. 1st lieu.; ass. Co. A June 4, '64.

Leonard Wood, 1st lieu.; 30; m.; butcher; com. Co. A Oct. 22-Dec. 4, '61; capt. Oct. 22, '61; m. Dec. 19, '62; det. Gen. Sedgwick's staff; see Co. K; dis. Jan. 16, '63.

George W. Brown, p; 21; s; farmer; sergt. Jan. 1, '62; 1st sergt. July 19, '62; 2d lieu. Nov. 21, '62; m. March 1, '63; tr. Co. E April 10, '63; 1st lieu. March 19, '63; capt. July 30, '63; com. Co. A April 4-7, 8, '63, in absence of Capt. Jorgensen. (See Cos. E and K.) Com. 15th Regt. Feb. 11-March 28, '64; m. o.

Frank W. Polley, 2d lieu.; 20; s.; shoemaker; com. Co. A Dec. 5, '61-Jan. 20, '62; re. Jan. 16, '62; served as sergt. 4th H. A. Aug. 20, '64-June 17, '65.

Fordyce May, p.; b. unknown, res. cr. Sterling; 23; s.; farmer; corp. Oct. 29, '62; sergt. June 1, '63; 1st sergt. Oct. 1, '63; pris. B. B.; wd. May 11, '64; m. o.

John M. Robbins, corp.; 24; s.; carpenter; sergt. July 19, '62; 1st sergt. Mar. 21, '63; pris. B. B.; tr. V.R.C. Sept. 15, '63; reën. July 1, '64; m. o. Oct. 24, '66.

A. Everett Brown, sergt.; 26; m.; comb-maker; dis. June 26, '62.

Frederick L. Hildreth, corp.; b. Westford; res., cr. Groton; 20; s.; baggage-master; sergt. Aug. 1, '61; dis. May 18, '62.

Reuben M. Holman, sergt.; b. Lunenburg; 41; m.; carpenter; dis. Oct. 29, '62.

Edward B. Rollins, p.; b. Montpelier, Vt.; 33; m.; carpenter; corp. Jan. 1, '62; sergt. July 1, '62; k. Gett.

- Thomas B. Ross, p.; b. Providence, R. I.; 23; m.; sailor; corp. June 1, '62; sergt. Nov. 1, '62; pris. B. B.; wd. head Ant.; wd. Gett.; dis. Feb. 27, '64.
- William H. Savage, p.; b. Weston; res., cr. Harvard; m. i. Aug. 1, '61; 29; m.; farmer; corp. June 1, '62; sergt. Nov. 21, '62; wd. Gett., back; dis. May 13, '64; enl. Feb. 27, '65, 1st U. S. Art.
- Herbert D. Taylor, p.; b. West Troy, N.Y., res., cr. Sterling; 19; s.; shoemaker; corp. June 6, '63; sergt. Sept. 1, '63; wd. Gett.; pris. June 22, '64; ex. Mar. 1, '65; m. o. May 29, '65.
- John Tripp, p.; b. Lowell; 18; s.; farmer; corp. Nov. 21, '62; sergt. Sept. 1, '63; wd. head, Gett.; pris. May 11, '64; d. March 19, '65.
- William C. Wheelock, sergt.; b. Clinton; 22; m.; comb-maker; dis. Aug. 25, '61.
- George E. Wilder, p.; 19; s.; clerk; corp. Oct. 21, '62; sergt. Feb. 26, '64; wd. Dec. 14, '62; wd. side May 11, '64; d. wds. May 16, '64.
- Nelson T. Batherie, p.; b. Lunenburg, res. cr. Ashby; m. i. Mar. 18, '62; 32; s.; mechanic; corp. Mar. 26, '64; reën. Mar. 26, '64; wd. June 9, '64; d. wds. June 30, '64.
- Lucien A. Cook, p.; 22; s.; comb-maker; corp. June 1, '62; pris. Ant.; dis. Dec. 30, '62; served 1st brig. band 81st U. S. C. T.; dis. July 20, '65.
- Andrew W. Cowdrey, corp.; 27; m.; carpenter; d. Nov. 4, '61, wds. B. B.
- William Curtis, p.; b. Worcester, res. cr. Holliston; m. i. Aug. 12, '62; 16; s.; shoemaker; corp. Nov. 1, '62; m. o.
- Franklin Gardner, p.; b. Sterling; 19; s.; painter; corp. Aug. 1, '61; wd. both thighs Ant.; d. wds. Oct. 6, '62.
- Joseph M. Howe, p.; b. res. cr. Princeton; 19; s.; farmer; corp. Oct. 1, '63; wd. May 11, '64; d. wds. May 12, '64.
- Richard L. Jewell, p.; b. Webster, res. cr. Worcester; m. i. Aug. 7, '62; 18; s.; farmer; corp. Jan. 1, '64; wd. May '64; m. o. July 28, '64; O. 28.
- Henry Joy, corp.; 23; s.; painter; tr. Western Flotilla Feb. 17, '62; dis. Oct. 28, '63.
- William Kelley, p.; b. Ireland, res. cr. Webster; 18; s.; operative; corp. Jan. 1, '64; m. a. Gett.; d. wds. June 19, '64.
- Charles A. Lamb, corp.; 23; s.; cabinet-maker; pris. B. B.; d. Dec., '61.
- Francis A. Lewis, p.; b. res. cr. Sterling; 21; s.; farmer; corp. June 1, '63; k. Gett.
- William D. Oakley, p.; b. Sturbridge, res. cr. Worcester; m. i. Aug. 3, '61; 20; s.; teamster; corp. June 6, '63; k. Gett.
- George H. Stevens, p.; Aug. 6, '61; 18; s.; butcher; b., res., cr. Oxford; corp. Nov. 21, '62; pris. Gett.; wd. May '64; m. o.
- Edwin L. Wilder, p.; 20; s.; comb-maker; corp. date unknown; voluntarily gave up warrant; m. o. July 28, '64.
- Horatio Willard, corp.; b. Ashburnham; m. i. July 24, '61; 25; m.; cabinet-maker; des. April 10, '62.
- Frank E. Colburn, wagoner; 29; m.; comb-maker; m. o.
- Andrew W. Ellis, musician; b. Ware, res. cr. Marlboro; 13; s.; student; des. Jan. 22, '64.
- John D. Kane, musician; b. East Troy, N. Y., res. cr. Worcester; m. i. July 9, '62; tr. Co. D; tr. 20th; m. o. June 8, '64; o. w. d.
- Gilman F. Moore, musician; 26; m.; b. Marlboro; dis. April 25, '62.

PRIVATES.

- Charles Ackermann; b. Germany, cr. Harwich, res. unknown; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 40; s.; carpenter; wd. back May 11, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th, as ab. wd.; d. wds. Nov. 11, '64.
- Andrew Adams, b. Ireland, res. unknown, cr. Barre; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 21; s.; drayman; des. Aug. 21, '63.
- John Adams, b. England, res. Beverly, cr. Wenham; sub.; m. i. Aug. 1, '63; 29; m.; machinist; tr. Co. E, 20th; m. o.
- Edward Alexander, b. Nova Scotia, res. unknown, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. July 18, '63; 25; machinist; des. Aug. 21, '63.
- John Alfred, b. Norway, res. cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. Aug. 5, '63; 36; m.; tr. navy May 10, '64.
- Ethan Allen, b. res. cr. Millbury; 19; s.; groom; m. i. July 27, '61; reën. Jan. 30, '64; pris. June 22, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th; m. o.
- Thomas Anderson, b. New Brunswick, res. Chicago, cr. Boston; 20; s.; sailor; sub.; m. i. July 22, '63; tr. navy April 23, '64.
- Thomas Andrews, b. Ireland, res. Canada, cr. Ashburnham; sub.; 23; s.; sailor; m. i. July 30, '63; des. Aug. 21, '63.
- Charles H. Arnold, b. Charlestown, res., cr. Melrose; m. i. May 14, '64; 32; m.; painter; pris. June 22, '64; enl. C.S.A.; captured and enl. U. S. Vol. Apr. 14, '65; tr. Co. E, 20th, m. o. as pris.
- Paul Anstie, b. England, res. Canada West, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. Aug. 5, '63; 39; m.; clerk; tr. V.R.C. Mar. 2, '64; d. Feb. 13, '65.
- Francis E. Bacon, b. Oxford, res., cr. Worcester; m. i. Mar. 4, '62; 20; s.; student; dis. Apr. 2, '63, to accept promotion; 2d lieut. 102d N.Y.V.
- Louis Bandin, b. France, res. New York City, cr. Beverly; sub.; m. i. Aug. 5, '63; 30; m.; shoemaker; des. Apr. 16, '64.
- Peter Bard, b. Canada, res. Shelburne, cr. Buckland; sub.; 28; m.; mechanic; m. i. July 28, '63; pris. June 22, '64; tr. 20th as ab.; m. o.
- Edward Bartlett, b. Ireland, res. unknown, cr. Amherst; sub.; 29; s.; farmer; m. i. July 28, '63; tr. Co. E, 20th; m. o. det. serv.
- James F. Bartlett, b. Nelson, N. H.; 22; s.; farmer; dis. date unknown; served as 1st sergt. Co. F, 57th regt. Feb. 18, '64-July 30, '65.
- Charles H. Barton, b. Millbury, res., cr. Worcester; m. i. Aug. 4, '61; 26; s.; shoemaker; wd. May 3, '63; tr. 20th, det. serv.; m. o. July 31, '64.
- Eugene A. Bennett, 18; s.; comb-maker; dis. Feb. 3, '63; reën. 4th Cav. March 23, '64; m. o. June 9, '65.
- Stephen S. Bennett, b., res., cr. Fitchburg; m. i. Apr. 2, '62; 30; m.; painter; wd. thigh Ant.; tr. 20th.
- John Benson, b. Sweden, res. Liverpool, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. July 31, '63; 28; s.; sailor; tr. navy Apr. 23, '64.
- Frank C. Benton, b. West Newbury; 22; s.; tanner; wd. wrist B. B.; dis. Aug. 4, '62.
- Edward S. Betterley, b. Jaffrey, N. H., res., cr. Worcester; m. i. Aug. 6, '61; 29; m.; pedler; tr. 20th, det. serv.; m. o. Aug. 5, '64.
- John Bock. See Rock.
- Calvin Bond, b. Belchertown, res., cr. Charlton; m. i. Mar. 20, '62; 34; m.; shoemaker; wd. Gett.; tr. V.R.C. Dec. 25, '63; dis. Apr. 15, '64.
- James H. Bond, b. Southbridge, res., cr. Charlton; m. i. Aug. 14, '62; 27; farmer; wd. shoulder Gett.; dis. Aug. 20, '64.
- Stephen P. Bond, b. Southbridge, res., cr. Charlton; m. i. Mar. 20, '62; 24; m.; shoemaker; dis. Dec. 25, '62.
- Sandforth Botham, b. Windsor, Ct., res., cr. Hardwick; m. i. July 31, '61; 18; s.; farmer; wd. wrist Ant.; dis. Dec. 17, '62.

- William Brewster, b. Canada, res. Salem, cr. Lynn; sub.; m. i. Aug. 11, '63; 22; s.; bar-tender; pris. June 22, '64; tr., m. o. 20th as ab. sick.
- Edward N. Brierly, b., res. unknown, cr. Wenham; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 24; s.; carpenter; des. Aug. 21, '63.
- Charles T. Brown, b. Lynn; 36; m., shoemaker; dis. Nov. 4, '62.
- George Brown, b. Nova Scotia, res. unknown, cr. Yarmouth; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 26; s.; sailor; tr. navy Apr. 23, '64.
- James S. Brown, b. New Hampshire; 18; s.; spinner; dis. Jan. 17, '63.
- Robert Brown, b. Hookset, N.H.; 34; m., blacksmith; dis. Mar. 26, '63.
- John Bruce, b. Rockland, Me., res. Oldtown, Me., cr. Dorchester; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 23; s.; farmer; des. Aug. 21, '63.
- William Bruce, b. Scotland, res. unknown, cr. Provincetown; sub.; m. i. July 29, '63; 34; s.; laborer; dis. Jan. 12, '64.
- Henry L. Burnell, b. Townsend, res. cr. Shirley; 19; s.; blacksmith; tr. Batt. I, 1st U. S. L. Art., Nov. 18, '62; m. o. June 25, '64.
- William R. Bryne, b. New York City, res. Kingston, cr. Sandwich; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 30; m.; sailor; tr. navy April 23, '64.
- Osgood J. Bugbee, b. Worcester; 26; s.; boot-treer; dis. Mar. 1, '62.
- William Burns, b. res. Canada, cr. Amherst; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 21; s.; trunk-maker; tr. navy, April 23, '64.
- David Burt, b. Philadelphia, res. Westfield, cr. Athol; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 27; s.; tanner; tr., m. o. Co. E, 20th, as absent sick.
- John S. Carlton, b. Sedgwick, Me., res. cr. Sterling; 23; s.; shoemaker; dis. April 25, '62.
- Eugene H. Carpenter, b. res. cr. Brookfield; m. i. April 1, '62; 21; s.; shoemaker; dis. Sept. 29, '62.
- Frederick W. Chaffin, b. Walpole, res. cr. Holden; 29; s.; teamster; dis. Dec. 15, '61.
- Charles A. Colburn, m. i. Nov. 20, '61; 24; m.; hostler; tr. V. R. C. Mar. 15, '64; m. o. Nov. 19, '64.
- Franklin C. Colburn, b. Dracut, res. cr. Grafton; m. i. Aug. 23, '62; 28; shoemaker; reën. March 21, '64; des. May 12, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th.
- Harvey Conant, tr. from Co. D (see Co. D.); dis. Jan. 7, '63.
- George M. Cook, b. Belchertown, res. cr. Worcester; m. i. July 23, '61; 20; s.; maker musical instruments; tr. V.R.C. Feb. 20, '64; m. o. July 21, '64.
- Charles M. Coolidge, b. res. cr. Westminster; 26; lawyer; dis. Dec. 15, '61.
- Alexander S. Cooper, b. England, res. cr. Warwick; m. i. July 15, '61; 36; m.; currier; dis. May 1, '62.
- John H. Crain, b. Westminster; 24; m.; machinist; dis. Dec. 15, '63.
- George D. Critchett, b. Boston, res. cr. Andover; 20; s.; brakeman; wd. Dec. 15, '62; dis. April 21, '63.
- Charles G. Crosby, b. Boston; m. i. Aug. 14, '62; 30; m.; mechanic; dis. Feb. 13, '63.
- Michael Curdy (Cuddy), b. Ireland, res. cr. Sterling; m. i. Aug. 12, '62; 30; farmer; tr. V.R.C. Nov. 24, '62; dis. April 10, '63.
- George B. Damon, 18; s.; farmer; dis. April 25, '62.
- Thomas H. Davidson, b. Stow, res. cr. Lancaster; 25; s.; miller; dis. May 1, '62.
- Walden W. Davis, b. South Danvers; 22; s.; cabinet-maker; dis. Mar. 1, '62.
- Alden Derby, m. i. Aug. 9, '62; 23; m.; farmer; des. Jan. 31, '63.
- Wallace W. Derby, 18; s.; comb-maker; pris. Gett.; m. o.
- Daniel H. Dickinson, b. res. cr. Harvard, 23; s.; farmer; dis. Dec. 23, '62.
- J. W. Dickinson, b. res. cr. Harvard; 24; s.; farmer; dis. Feb. 14, '63.

- Daniel Dunn, b. New Brunswick; 39; m.; piano-maker; dis. Dec. 4, '62.
- Arad Fairbanks, b. res. cr. Sterling; m. i. Dec. 14, '61; 45; m.; farmer; dis. May 1, '62.
- John W. Ferren, b. Cambridge, res. cr. Shirley; 19; s.; paper-maker; m. o.
- Charles H. Fletcher, b. Fitchburg; m. i. July 17, '61; 24; s.; butcher; dis. Dec. 31, '61, for loss of right eye.
- Sumner M. Frost, b. South Orange; 20; s.; carriage-maker; pris. B. B.; dis. Oct. 11, '62; served Co. H, 4th H. A. Aug. 22, '64-June 17, '65.
- George H. Gallup, m. i. Aug. 7, '61; 18; s.; comb-maker; pris. June 29, '62; released; d. Aug. 6, '62.
- Edward G. Gee, b. Ware, res. cr. Oxford; m. i. Aug. 14, '62; 18; operative; pris. June 22, '64; reën. March 26, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th, as pris.; m. o. June 7, '65.
- Albert H. Gleason, b. res. cr. Worcester; m. i. Aug. 7, '61; 35; m.; painter; hospital steward, April, '63; m. o.
- William S. Hall, m. i. Aug. 9, '62; 44; m.; farmer; m. o.; G. O. 28.
- Joseph H. Hapgood, b. res. cr. Sterling; m. i. July 24, '61; 22; s.; farmer; wd. B. B. and Gett.; tr. V.R.C. Oct. 19, '63; m. o. July 19, '64.
- Luther M. Hapgood, b. Marlboro; m. i. Dec. 14, '61; 42; m.; farmer; dis. Nov. 10, '62.
- Luther S. Hapgood, b. res. cr. Sterling; 25; s.; farmer; pris. B. B.; dis. Oct. 30, '62; served Co. K, 4th H. A., Aug. 18, '64-m. o. June 17, '65.
- Frank E. Hatch, b. res. cr. Keene, N. H.; m. i. July 30, '61; 18; s.; sailor; pris. B. B.; wd. Gett.; tr. V.R.C. Feb. 15, '64.
- Abram Hodge, b. unknown, res. Canada, cr. Athol; m. i. April 30, '64; 19; s.; farmer; pris. June 22 '64; tr. Co. E, 20th, m. o. as pris.
- Fordyce Horan, b. Ireland, res. cr. Lancaster; m. i. Dec. 20, '61; 20; s.; farmer; tr. Batt. I, 1st U. S. L. Art., Nov. 18, '62.
- Charles Hubbard, b. Canada, res. cr. Worcester; m. i. Aug. 12, '62; 28; shoemaker; wd. thigh Ant.; dis. Jan. 23, '63.
- Augustus Johnson, 18; s.; painter; pris. B. B.; dis. Nov. 22, '62.
- Thomas A. Joslin, 42; m.; farmer; dis. May 1, '62.
- Charles Joy, 20; s.; wood-turner; dis. Jan. 27, '63.
- Justin J. Kendall, b. West Boylston, res. cr. Groton; 20; s.; chair-maker; dis. Mar. 12, '63.
- Robert N. Kendall, b. Boylston, res. cr. Groton; 24; s.; operative; dis. Oct. 29, '62.
- Joseph W. Kingsbury, b. Amesbury, res. cr. Lancaster; m. i. Aug. 1, '61; 18; s.; machinist; pris. B. B.; dis. Nov. 27, '62.
- Hiram Lafflin. See Co. C.
- John H. Lalor, b. New York, res. unknown, cr. Worcester; m. i. July 30, '61; 18; baker; dis. Aug. 6, '61, minor.
- Francis L. Lander, b. res. cr. Cambridge; m. i. Nov. 26, '61; 18; s.; farmer; d. Jan. 15, '63.
- Walter Lawrence, b. res. Canada, cr. Chelsea; m. i. Mar. 28, '64; 21; s.; farmer; wd. May 11, '64; tr. 20th as ab. wd.; m. o. V.R.C. July 22, '65.
- Edward Lord, b. Lowell, res. cr. Millbury; m. i. July 28, '61; wd. hand B. B.; m. o.
- Peter Luck, b. Germany; 38; soldier; m. i. Jan. 6, '62; wd. Gett.; tr. V.R.C. Feb. 15, '64.
- Frank E. Marble, b. Charlestown, res. cr. Northbridge; 18; s.; machinist; dis. Dec. 10, '62.
- Charles McFarland. See Co. E.

- Charles F. May, 19; s.; farmer; m. i. July 16, '61; wd. June 9, '64; reën.
Dec. 22, '63; tr. Co. G, 20th, ab. wd.; m. o. July 13, '65.
- Sylvander F. Maynard, 19; s.; basket-maker; wd. thigh; pris. June 29,
'62; tr. V.R.C. Sept. 1, '63; m. o. July 15, '64.
- William Maynard, 35; s.; basket-maker; dis. Jan. 22, '62.
- Peter McGee, b. Scotland, res. cr. Leicester; m. i. July 13, '61; 24; s.;
spinner; dis. Jan. 22, '62.
- Curtis G. Morse, b. Lancaster; 24; s.; farmer; pris. B. B.; m. o.
- Harrison A. Morse, 19; tr. 21st Regt. as com. sergt. July 28, '61.
- John Morrissey, b. Ireland, res. unknown, cr. Worcester; m. i. July 24, '62;
31; blacksmith; reported d. Feb. 16, '64; tr. to Co. A, 20th, as ab.
- Dwight Newbury. See Field and Staff officers.
- George F. Newton, b. res. cr. Auburn; 19; s.; farmer; pris. B. B.; d. June
10, '62.
- Charles C. Nichols, 20; s.; painter; tr. signal corps Oct. 28, '63; dis.
Feb. 20, '64.
- John W. Nourse, 20; s.; comb-maker; dis. Aug. 1, '62.
- Moses L. Nutting, b. Mason, N. H.; 43; m.; comb-maker; pris. B. B.;
dis. Sept. 21, '62.
- Robert O'Brien, b. unknown, res. Nova Scotia, cr. Athol; m. i. April 30,
'64; 20; s.; sailor; pris. June 22, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th, m. o. as ab. pris.
- John A. Parmenter, b. Hardwick, res. cr. Worcester; 18; farmer; dis.
Aug. 6, '61.
- Albert A. Pelton, b. Sterling; 24; s.; shoemaker; pris. B. B.; dis. Nov.
22, '62.
- Samuel E. Pratt, b. Phillips, Me., res. cr. unknown; m. i. Feb. 11, '62; 21;
bootmaker.
- John O. Regan, b. Ireland, res. cr. Worcester; m. i. Aug. 4, '62; 46;
painter; tr. V.R.C. Aug. 7, '63; dis. Oct. 2, '63.
- Asaph W. Rice, b. res. cr. Westminster; 39; s.; teamster; tr. V.R.C.
April '63; dis. July 12, '64.
- Francis Rice, b. Stow, res. cr. Charlton; m. i. Aug. 14, '62; wd. Gett.; m.
o.; G. O. 28.
- John Rock, b. unknown, res. cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. July 29, '63; 23; s.;
sailor; des. Oct. 26, '63.
- Andrew J. Rugg, 23; s.; cabinet-maker; pris. B. B.; dis. Sept. 22, '62.
- Jacob Rugg, res. cr. Sterling; 28; m.; farmer; pris. B. B.; dis. Oct. 22, '62;
served Co. H, 4th H. A. Aug. 20, '64; m. o. June 17, '65.
- James E. Sheppard, b. England, res. cr. Millbury; m. i. Mar. 31, '62; 19;
s.; operative; wd. Gett.; wd. Nov. 27, '63, May 6, '64; tr. Co. K, 20th;
m. o. '65.
- John R. Smith, b. New London, Ct., res. cr. Grafton; m. i. Aug. 23, '62;
34; shoemaker; wd. Dec. 13, '62, May 3, '63; m. o. as ab.
- John G. Snow, b. Wellfleet; 21; s.; farmer; d. Dec. 12, '62.
- Alexander Spicer, b. res. Canada East, cr. Hanover; m. i. May 5, '64; 19;
s.; farmer; pris. June 22, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th, as pris.; m. o. June 21, '65.
- George W. Stanley, b. Natick, res. cr. Worcester; m. i. Aug. 11, '62; 26;
shoemaker; wd. thigh Gett.; m. o. as ab., G. O. 28.
- Sabura S. Stocking, b. Manchester, Ct.; 31; m.; furniture dealer; Q. M.
S. May 11, '62; dis.
- Joseph Sullivan, b. res. cr. Deerfield; m. i. Aug. 2, '61; 20; s.; farmer;
pris. B. B.; des. Jan. 31, '63.
- Charles H. Taylor, b. Bolton; m. i. Aug. 9, '62; 30; m.; teamster; dis.
Mar. 5, '63.

Henry T. Taylor, b. Lancaster; 26; m.; comb-maker; dis. April 25, '62.
 George H. Watson, b. res. cr. Worcester; m. i. July 31, '61; 19; s.; machinist; pris. B. B.; tr. V.R.C. Mar. 15, '64; m. o. Aug. 3, '64.
 David Welsh, b. Ireland; res. cr. Worcester; m. i. July 31, '61; 38; shoemaker; wd. head Gett.; tr. V.R.C. May 16, '64; d. July 9, '64.
 J. Wilder Welsh, b. unknown; 21; dis. Aug. 1, '61.
 Benjamin C. Wheelock. See Co. F.
 Charles A. Wheelock, b. Lancaster; 26; s.; shoemaker; m. o. ab. sick.
 Joseph H. White, b. Canada, res. cr. Worcester; m. i. Aug. 6, '62; 32; m.; farmer; tr. V.R.C. Oct. 28, '63.
 William B. Whitney, b. Westminster; 19; s.; carriage-maker; pris. B. B.; pris. June 29, '62; dis. Sept. 6, '62; served Co. H, 4th H. A., Aug. 22, '64-June 17, '65.
 William L. Whitney, b. res. cr. Princeton; m. i. Aug. 9, '62; 27; s.; farmer; d. Nov. 14, '62.
 Charles H. Wilder, 19; s.; operative; pris. B. B.; m. o.
 Cornelius E. Wilder, 23; s.; cabinet-maker; pris. June 22, '64; m. o.
 Ezra K. Wilder, 19; s.; dis. Aug. 1, '61.
 Joseph Willard, b. Ashburnham; 28; s.; cabinet-maker; wd. Gett.; m. o.
 Origen B. Williams, b. East Douglas, res. cr. Marlboro; m. i. July 28, '61; 20; s.; machinist; dis. Aug. 18, '62.
 Edward Wilson, b. Chichester, N. H.; 33; m.; shoemaker; dis. Dec. 13, '61.
 Charles B. Woods, 19; s.; farmer; d. Mar. 22, '62, drowning while in discharge of duty at Sandy Hook.
 George Wood, b. Sutton, res. cr. Millbury; m. i. Aug. 2, '61; 35; m.; farmer; pris. B. B.; dis. Nov. 22, '62.

COMPANY B.

The members of this company were natives and citizens of Fitchburg and were credited on the quota of that city unless it is otherwise stated in each particular. For the history of this company before the date of muster, see pages 14-18 and 20-21.

John W. Kimball, capt. Co. B under militia commission to Aug. 1, '61.
 See Field Officers.
 Clark S. Simonds, capt. Co. B, Aug. 1, '61-Sept. 17, '62; b. Groton; 30; m.; scythe-maker; pris. B. B.; k. Ant.
 Charles H. Eager, 2d lieutenant, 31; m.; hardware dealer; 1st lieutenant. R. Q. M. May 11, '62; capt. Co. B, Nov. 27, '62-Feb. 4, '64; com. 15th Reg't, Nov. 27, '63-Jan., '64; re. Feb. 4, '64.
 William J. Coulter. See Co. C. 1st lieutenant. com. Co. B, Dec. 10, '63-June 22, '64.
 Joseph M. Goddard, 1st lieutenant; 24; m.; machinist; (see Co. A); re. Oct. 26, '62.
 William R. Steele. See Staff Officers. 2d lieutenant. Co. B, May 11, '62; 1st lieutenant. Co. B, May 1, '63.
 William G. Waters. See Staff Officers. 1st lieutenant. Co. B, Nov. 26, '62.
 Nelson V. Stanton, p.; res. cr. Northbridge; 19; s.; painter; corp. Aug. 9, '61; (see Co. H); 2d. lieutenant. Co. B, Jan. 22, '63; 1st lieutenant. July 4, '63; (see Staff Officers and Co. D); capt. Feb. 6, '64, never mustered.

- Frank A. Brown, p.; b. Winchester, N. H.; 19; s.; farmer; corp. Nov. 14, '62; sergt. April 9, '63; 1st sergt. Oct. 30, '63; 1st lieu. Feb. 6, '64, never mustered; wd. breast May, '64; m. o.
- Andrew Fisher, corp. b. Fitzwilliams, N. H.; res. cr. Winchendon; 22; m.; pail-maker; acting 1st sergt. Dec. 19, '62; capt. July 14, '64, never mustered; wd. hand Ant.; m. o.
- James May, sergt.; b. Roxbury; 32; m.; wood-turner; 1st sergt. Sept. 18, '62; 2d lieu. Oct. 28, '62; m. April 9, '63, and ass. Co. H, April 14, '63; ass. Cos. H, E; 1st lieu. March 30, '63, ass. Co. E; capt. Nov. 22, '63, ass. Co. I; pris. June 22, '64; tr. 20th, Co. E; m. o. March 12, '65.
- John Murkland, sergt.; b. Scotland; 26; m.; machinist; 1st sergt. May 29, '62; capt. Sept. 18, '62; m. and ass. Co. G, Nov. 27, '62; k. Gett.
- Henry A. Spooner, sergt.; b. Athol; 31; m.; hat-finisher; 1st sergt.; dis. May 29, '62.
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- Amable Beaudry, p.; b. Canada East, res. cr. Winchendon; 24; m.; moulder; corp. Jan. 1, '62; sergt. Sept. 18, '62; 1st lieu. Co. H., July 4, '63; wd. face Ant.; pris. Gett., escaped, rej. co. July 5; wd. May 12, '64; m. o.
- Frederick A. Britton, p.; b. Athol; 21; s.; chair-maker; corp. Jan. 1, '62; sergt. Dec. 28, '62; dis. May 21, '63.
- Cyrus Brown, corp.; b. Vienna, Me.; 24; s.; scythe-maker; sergt. June 1, '62; dis. Dec. 18, '62.
- Walter A. Eames, p.; b. West Cambridge; 19; m.; stone-cutter; corp. Jan. 1, '62; sergt. Sept. 18, '62; wd. breast Dec. 15, '62; dis. Dec. 27, '62.
- Marcus R. Johnson, p.; res. cr. Bedford; 22; s.; shoe-maker; corp. Dec. 28, '62; sergt. Oct. 16, '63; wd. shoulder B. B. and Ant; m. o.
- Flavel Leach, jr., p.; b. unknown, res. cr. Boylston; 39; m.; manufacturer; corp. Sept. 18, '62; sergt. Sept. 1, '63; wd. thighs May, '64; m. o.
- George B. Simonds, p.; res. cr. Leominster; 19; s.; carpenter; corp. Aug. 1, '62; sergt. April 9, '63; 1st lieu. July 30, '63; m. and ass. Co. F, Oct. 16, '63; wd. thigh, B. B.; k. May 10, '64.
- Frederick H. Sibley, corp.; b. Troy, N. Y.; 23; s.; tool-maker; sergt. June 12, '62; tr. 36th Sept. 4, '62; 2d lieu. Aug. 22, '62; 1st lieu. Aug. 2, '63; d. Aug. 17, '63.
- George C. Taylor, corp.; 20; s.; machinist; sergt. July '62; k. B. B.
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- Alfred B. Church, p.; b. Cranston, R. I.; res. cr. Woonsocket, R. I.; 28; s.; scythe-maker; corp. Jan. 1, '62; dis. Jan. 7, '63.
- George T. Daniels, p.; b. Worcester; 26; s.; chair-maker; corp. July '62; wd. arm B. B.; dis. Oct. 24, '62.
- Stillman W. Edgell, p.; b. Westminster; m. i. Nov. 26, '61; 30; s.; chair-maker; corp. Sept. 1, '63; wd. lost arm June 3, '64; m. o. Jan. 11, '65.
- John R. Farnum, p.; b. Smithfield, R. I.; 22; s.; scythe-maker; corp. Dec. 19, '62; pris. Gett., escaped, rej. Co. July 5; m. o. July 11, '64.
- William Gibson, p.; 23; m.; stone-worker; corp. Oct. 24, '62; dis. March 16, '63.
- Kilburn Harwood, p.; b. Ashburnham; 22; s.; butcher; corp. date unknown; wd. arm June 30, '62; tr. V.R.C., Jan. 15, '64; m. o. Aug. '64.
- Frank A. Hildreth, corp.; b. Lunenburg; 20; s.; harness-maker; d. Oct. 4, '61.
- Harrison M. Hunkings, corp.; b. Dedham; 25; m.; carpenter; wd. ankle Ant.; dis. Nov. 28, '62.
- Henry L. Joslin, p.; 18; s.; carpenter; corp. Sept. 18, '62; reën. Batt. I, 1st U. S. L. Art., Nov. 13, '62; d. April 21, '63.

Charles D. Monroe, corp.; b. Charlestown; 28; s.; provision-dealer; k. B.B. Horace T. Pope, corp.; b. Hull, res. cr. Boston; 23; s.; machinist; wd. May 10, '64; d. May 15, '64.
 Andrew Riley, p.; res. cr. Winchendon; 22; s.; pail-maker; corp. Nov. 29, '62; wd. Gett.; tr. V.R.C. March 15, '64; m. o.
 Henry L. Sheldon, p.; 25; s.; machinist; corp. April 9, '63; wd. head May, '64; m. o.
 Alvan A. Simonds, p.; 20; s.; scythe-maker; corp. Jan. 8, '62; wd. leg Gett.; pris. June 22, '64, escaped and entered Union lines about July 20; m. o. Aug. 12, '64.
 Samuel W. Stearns, p.; b. Bedford; m. i. Jan. 21, '62; 20; s.; machinist; corp. Aug. 27, '63; k. Oct. 14, '63.
 George A. Harwood, musician; b. Ashburnham; 21; s.; ornamenteer; tr. non. com. staff Dec. 30, '63; prin. musician June 16, '64; m. o.
 Daniel R. Pierce, musician; b. Pawlet, Vt.; 26; s.; rattan worker; tr. non. com. staff Nov. 1, '63; prin. musician June 16, '64; m. o.
 Abraham Scott, wagoner; b. res. cr. Winchendon; m. i. July 30, '61; 26; m.; teamster; dis. Feb. 17, '63.

PRIVATES.

George Adams, b. Winchendon; 19; s.; porter; wd. arm, breast, Ant.; d. Oct. 7, '62.
 James H. Adams, b. unknown, res. Canada, cr. New Marlborough; m. i. April 12, '64; 27; s.; farmer; tr. Co. E, 20th; m. o.
 William E. Bailey, b. Canada East, res. cr. Winchendon; 22; s.; carpenter; dis. Dec. 8, '62.
 Thomas Barclay, b. Scotland, res. Canada, cr. Chesterfield; sub.; m. i. July 31, '63; 21; s.; stone-cutter; tr. 20th.
 William H. Bears, b. Yarmouth, Me.; res. N.Y. city, cr. Buckland; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 22; m.; farmer; des. Nov. 4, '63.
 George F. Benjamin, b. res. cr. Westminster; 21; s.; farmer; k. B. B.
 David Bliss, b. unknown; res. cr. New Salem; m. i. Dec. 24, '61; 44; m.; farmer; d. Sept. 13, '62.
 Henry M. Bliss, b. unknown; res. cr. Dana; m. i. Jan. 2, '64; 18; laborer; m. o. Jan. 7, '64.
 Daniel Bonney, b. unknown, res. cr. Sterling; 26; s.; painter; reën. Batt. I, 1st U. S. L. Art. Oct. 23, '62.
 George L. Boss, 19; s.; building mover; k. Gett.
 Roland E. Bowen, b. res. cr. Millbury; m. i. July 30, '61; 24; s.; wood-turner; pris. June 22, '64, escaped and entered Union lines about July 20; m. o. Aug. 3, '64.
 James Boyd, b. res. England, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. Aug. 1, '63; 22; s.; sailor; tr. navy, April 23, '64.
 Augustus Braight, b. Prussia, res. Germany, cr. Attleborough; sub.; m. i. July 31, '63; 27; s.; farmer; des. Aug. 20, '63.
 Henry Branner (Brennan), b. Germany, res. Boston, cr. Stow; m. i. April 8, '64; 28; s.; clerk; pris. May 5, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th, as pris.; m. o. as pris.
 Joseph Brenner, b. Ireland, res. unknown, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. July 20, '63; 30; s.; laborer; tr. Co. E, 20th, as ab. sick.
 Jacob Brown, b. unknown, res. Germany, cr. Canton; sub.; m. i. July 31, '63; 24; s.; painter; des. Aug. 20, '63.
 Thomas J. Brown, b. res. Scotland, cr. Stoughton; sub.; m. i. Aug. 5, '63; 24; s.; laborer. Never joined Company.

- William Brown, b. Ireland, res. Boston, cr. Conway; sub.; m. i. Aug. 4, '63; 23; s.; pris. June 22, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th, as pris.; m. o.
- Abel Bruce, Jr., 32; m.; carpenter; pris. B. B.; dis. Dec. 15, '62.
- Napoleon B. Bruce, b. unknown, res. cr. Winchendon; m. i. Dec. 2, '61; 21; s.; mechanic; wd. left arm, Ant.; m. o. G. O. 28.
- Robert Bruce, b. Albany, N.Y.; res. cr. Winchendon; 23; s.; pail-maker; dis. March 17, '62.
- Nathaniel Burbank, b. res. Parsonsfield, Me.; cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. July 9, '63; 25; s.; printer; tr. Co. E, 20th; dis. Sept. 15, '64, to accept pro.; 1st lieut. 7th U. S. Col'd H. A. May '64; acting regt. adj. to Sept. '64; 2d lieut. 10th U. S. Col'd H. A. Sept. 17, '64; 1st lieut. Sept. 27, '64; brevet capt. U. S. V. March 13, '65; m. o. Feb. 22, '67.
- John Campbell, 20; m.; shoemaker; k. Ant.
- Daniel Carpenter, 30; s.; shoemaker; k. Ant.
- George Carpenter, b. England, res. cr. Cambridge; 25; s.; cabinet-maker; wd. head B. B.; pris. Ant.; dis. Jan. 6, '63.
- Henry M. Carpenter, b. res. cr. Southbridge; m. i. Aug. 6, '61; 22; s.; harness-maker; wd. arm B. B.; wd. leg Gett.; tr. V.R.C. Jan. 21, '64; m. o. Aug. 4, '64.
- John Carpenter, b. res. unknown, cr. Somerville; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 25; s.; seaman; des. Sept. 22, '63.
- George Cassidy, b. N.Y. city, res. cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. July 31, '63; s.; boiler-maker; tr. Co. K, 20th; m. o. July 26, '65.
- Edwin Chase, b. res. cr. Winchendon; 20; s.; box-maker; pris. Ant.; pris. June 22, '64; paroled June 24, '64; m. o.
- Ferdinand Chausen, b. Denmark, res. unknown, cr. Buckland; 29; s.; blacksmith; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; tr. Co. E, 20th, as ab. wd.; m. o. as ab. wd.
- Peter Christenson, b. Denmark, res. cr. Weymouth; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 37; s.; blacksmith; d. pris. July 15, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th; as ab.
- Benjamin F. Clark, b. Cambridgeport; 18; s.; machinist; wd. head Ant.; dis. Nov. 28, '62.
- George Classon, b. Canada, res. cr. Barre; sub.; m. i. Aug. 3, '63; 20; s.; farmer; des. Aug. 20, '63.
- Franklin E. Cobleigh, b. St. Johnsbury, Vt.; res. Derby, Vt.; cr. Marshfield; m. i. April 4, '64; 18; s.; farmer; wd. face May 6, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th, as ab. wd.
- Thomas Collins, b. res. Canada, cr. Belchertown; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 20; s.; laborer; tr. Co. E, 20th, as ab. wd.; m. o.
- Henry Contz, b. Germany, res. unknown, cr. Eastham; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 24; s.; machinist; des. Aug. 20, '63.
- Owen Connelly, b. unknown, res. cr. Fall River; sub.; m. i. July 28, '63; 38; m.; laborer; des. Sept. 22, '63.
- Barney Connelly, b. Scotland, res. unknown, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. July 31, '63; 21; s.; seaman; dis. Dec. 8, '63.
- Joseph Coyne, b. res. Ireland, cr. Barre; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 30; m.; laborer; des. Oct. 14, '63.
- Wallace Crawford, b. res. N.Y. city, cr. Salem; sub.; m. i. Aug. 5, '63; 21; farmer; wd. thigh May '64; tr. Co. E, 20th, as ab. wd.; pris. Feb. 5, '65; m. o. June 5, '65.
- George H. Cunningham, b. Cambridge; 24; s.; palmleaf worker; m. o.
- William C. Cushman, b. unknown, res. cr. Princeton; m. i. Sept. 1, '62; 25; s.; farmer; wd. shoulder Dec. 13, '62; des. Feb. 19, '63.
- Sampson Davis, b. unknown, res. cr. Ashby; m. i. Dec. 5, '61; 44; m.; farmer; dis. April 12, '62.

- Sylvanus H. Doane, b. unknown, res. cr. Dana; m. i. Aug. 13, '62; 22; mechanic; d. Dec. 24, '62.
- Calvin J. Eaton, b. res. cr. Worcester; m. i. July 30, '61; 22; s.; carpenter; pris. B. B.; wd. head Gett.; d. Oct. 25, '63.
- Robert J. Elliott, b. Scotland, res. cr. Ashburnham; 24; m.; tub-turner; reën. Batt. I, U. S. L. Art. Oct. 22, '62.
- Charles H. Farmer, 18; s.; machinist; dis. Feb. 2, '63.
- Seth R. Fisher, b. unknown, res. cr. Winchendon; m. i. Dec. 2, '61; 33; m.; mechanic; dis. Jan. 13, '63.
- Augustus Flagg, b. unknown, res. cr. Boylston; m. i. Dec. 14, '61; 35; m.; manufacturer; dis. Nov. 10, '62.
- Philander H. Fletcher, b. Berkshire, Vt.; 37; m.; patent roofer; wd. thigh and hand Ant.; dis. Feb. 2, '63.
- Artemas A. Gibson, m. i. July 30, '61; 22; s.; scythe-maker; dis. April 29, '63.
- Lemuel W. Gibson, m. i. Dec. 5, '61; 18; s.; farmer; wd. leg and arm Ant.; dis. Jan. 24, '63.
- George S. Gilchrist, b. Townsend; m. i. Aug. 6, '61; 33; m.; brick mason; pris. B. B.; dis. Nov. 22, '62.
- Charles E. Griswold, 23; s.; hat-finisher; dis. Feb. 28, '63.
- William T. Griswold, 25; s.; hat-finisher; m. o.
- Rollins E. Hartwell, b. Eden, Vt.; res. cr. Winchendon; 20; s.; marble-worker; reën. Batt. I, 1st U. S. L. Art. Oct. 25, '62; k. May 3, '63.
- William W. Holman, b. res. cr. Winchendon; 28; m.; pail-maker; pris. B. B.; dis. April 29, '63.
- Granville Hosmer, b. Rindge, N. H.; 23; m.; tool-maker; pris. B. B.; dis. March 17, '63.
- Henry J. Hosmer, b. Dexter, Me.; 24; s.; chair-maker; pris. B. B.; dis. Jan. 1, '63.
- Joel K. Hosmer, b. Acton; m. i. July 30, '61; 19; s.; clerk; wd. arm June 27, '62; m. o.
- Joseph R. Houghton, b. Stow, res. cr. Westminster; 18; s.; clerk; reën. Batt. I, 1st U. S. L. Art. Nov. 13, '62.
- N. Porter Howard, b. res. cr. Westminster; 28; s.; lumberman; pris. B. B.; m. o.
- Charles W. Kendall, b. West Boylston, res. cr. Winchendon; 29; m.; farmer; m. o.
- Edward S. Kendall, b. Royalston, res. cr. Westminster; 19; s.; painter; dis. Nov. 5, '62.
- Oscar A. Kendall, b. res. cr. Winchendon; 21; s.; painter; reën. Batt. I, 1st U. S. L. Art. Oct. 24, '62.
- Amos W. Lawrence, b. Leominster; 31; m.; carpenter; d. Oct. 13, '62.
- Albert Litchfield, b. Carlisle; 19; s.; scythe-maker; pris. and wd. B. B.; dis. Oct. 12, '62.
- Francis H. Loud, b. res. cr. Winchendon; 27; s.; wood-turner; des. Nov. 10, '62.
- Henry C. Lowell, b. Washington, N. H.; res. cr. Winchendon; 21; s.; farmer; dis. April 29, '63.
- Thomas Lynaugh, b. Canada; m. i. March 7, '62; 34; s.; farmer; des. Nov. 4, '62.
- John Marsh, b. Sandwich; m. i. Nov. 26, '61; 26; s.; palmleaf-worker; wd. leg Ant.; k. Gett.
- Frank S. Marshall, m. i. July 30, '61; 21; s.; farmer; dis. Sept. 10, '62.
- Joseph A. Marshall, 21; s.; wd. Dec. 15, '62; pro. 2d lieut. 36th Regt. Jan. 22, '62; 1st lieut. Sept. 1, '63; capt. April 23, '64; m. o. June 8, '65.

- Joseph B. Matthews, b. Sidney, Me.; res. cr. Winchendon; 41; s.; pail-maker; wd. both legs Gett.; dis. April 16, '64.
- Winthrop Maynard, b. Wendall; res. cr. Winchendon; m. i. Aug. 6, '61; 18; s.; teamster; pris. B. B.; tr. 20th.
- Herbert D. McIntire, m. i. Nov. 26, '61; 20; s.; clerk; m. o. G. O. 28.
- William C. Mitchell, b. Canada; m. i. Feb. 8, '62; 29; m.; farmer; dis. May 23, '62.
- Joseph L. Moody, b. Lincolnsville, Me.; 34; s.; carpenter; pris. B. B.; tr. V.R.C. March 15, '64; m. o. July 11, '64.
- Thomas Moran, b. res. Fairfield, Vt.; cr. New Marlborough; m. i. April 13, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th, as m. in a. May, '64; m. o. as ab. sick.
- John E. Morse, b. Hingham; 24; s.; machinist; pris. B. B.; m. o.
- Silas H. Newton, b. unknown, res. cr. Phillipston; m. i. Nov. 26, '61; 23; s.; painter; dis. Jan. 12, '64.
- Francis Nichols, b. res. cr. Westminster; 31; s.; lumberman; dis. April 10, '63.
- Frederick Nichols, b. res. cr. Westminster; 35; s.; lumberman; m. o.
- Lyman Nichols, b. res. cr. Westminster; 22; s.; engineer; reën. Batt. I, 1st U. S. L. Art., Nov. 13, '62; m. o. July 12, '64.
- Alpheus J. Nye, b. unknown, res. cr. Dana; m. i. Aug. 27, '62; 31; m.; mechanic; m. o. G. O. 28.
- Ai D. Osborn, b. Ashburnham; 28; s.; millwright; pris. wd. leg B. B.; d. Dec. 1, '61.
- Anson P. Peckham, b. Rutland, res. cr. Dana; m. i. Jan. 2, '64; 20; s.; laborer; pris. June 22, '64; tr. Co. K, 20th, as pris.; d. Aug. 22, '64, a pris.
- Thomas J. Peckham, b. Petersham, res. cr. Dana; m. i. Aug. 13, '62; 22; farmer; k. June 3, '64.
- George W. Phillips, b. Dublin, N. H.; 42; m.; stone-mason; dis. Aug. 1, '62.
- Amos C. Plaisted, b. Haverhill, N. H.; 18; s.; machinist; m. o.
- Charles F. Pope, b. Canada East; res. cr. Winchester; 20; s.; farmer; m. o.
- Joel Pratt, b. Gardner; 21; s.; chairmaker; pris. B. B.; reën. Batt. I, 1st U. S. L. Art., Nov. 13, '62.
- John H. Prichard, 24; s.; farmer; pris. B. B.; dis. Jan. 22, '63.
- Harrison Rich, b. unknown; 25; s.; palmleaf-maker; m. o.
- Ira M. Richardson, b. res. Waterford, Vt.; cr. Marshfield; m. i. April 14, '64; 18; s.; farmer; tr. Co. K, 20th, as ab. sick; dis. June 9, '65.
- John R. Ring, b. Germany; 27; s.; basket-maker; m. o.
- Stillman Safford, b. Springfield, Vt.; res. cr. Winchendon; 40; m.; pail-maker; tr. V.R.C. March 15, '64; m. o. July 21, '64.
- Camille Sausee, b. Canada, res. Boston, cr. Groveland; m. i. April 8, '64; 23; s.; farmer; wd. May 6, '64; tr. Co. K, 20th, as ab. wd.; m. o.
- Thomas Scolly, res. cr. Westminster; m. i. March 3, '62; 18; s.; student; tr. V.R.C. Nov. 15, '63; d. March 19, '64.
- Elijah M. Scott, b. Sutton, res. cr. Wincheddon; 20; s.; pail-maker; k. B. B.
- Frank Scott, b. Winchendon; 18; s.; farmer; reën. Batt. I, 1st U. S. L. Art., Oct. 24, '62; m. o. July 12, '64.
- D. Walter Scott, b. Sutton, res. cr. Winchendon; 22; s.; blacksmith; m. o.
- George F. Simonds, m. i. Jan. 21, '62; 19; s.; machinist; dis. July 18, '62.
- John Skerrington (Skirrington), b. England, res. cr. Worcester; m. i. Jan. 9, '62; 25; s.; mason; d. July 29, '62.
- Henry Smith, b. Dublin, N. H.; res. cr. Dana; m. i. Jan. 2, '64; 19; m.; mechanic; pris. June 22, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th, as pris.; m. o. as pris.

- George A. Spofford, b. unknown, res. cr. Orange; m. i. Feb. 18, '62; 18; s.; farmer; d. July 17, '62.
- George J. Spooner, b. unknown, res. cr. Dana; m. i. Aug. 27, '62; 32; mechanic; d. Dec. 27, '62.
- Charles A. Stevens, b. Nashua, N. H.; res. cr. Winchendon; 20; s.; box-maker; pris. B. B.; dis. Feb. 4, '63.
- Nicholas Stevens, b. res. Philadelphia, Pa.; cr. Chelsea; m. i. April 8, '64; 22; s.; moulder; tr. Co. E, 20th, as m. in a.; m. o.
- Frederick C. Stewart, b. Castleton, Vt.; res. cr. Winchendon; 20; s.; pail-maker; dis. Jan. 21, '63.
- Edward M. Stone, b. unknown, res. cr. Dana; m. i. Dec. 16, '63; 42; m.; shoemaker; k. June 3, '64.
- Luman W. Stone, b. Massina, N.Y.; 30; s.; mechanic; pris. B. B.; dis. March 22, '62.
- George G. Taylor, b. unknown, res. cr. Winchendon; m. i. Aug. 11, '62; 32; carpenter; m. o. G. O. 28.
- Thomas P. Taylor, 28; m.; sailor; pris. wd. B. B.; dis. Oct. 12, '62.
- William E. Taylor, b. res. cr. Winchendon; 22; s.; pail-maker; pris. June 22, '64; m. o. as pris.
- James H. Tenney, b. unknown; m. i. Aug. 11, '62; 24; mechanic; wd. leg Gett.; m. o. G. O. 28.
- John K. Walker, b. New Ipswich; res. cr. Ashburnham; 25; wood-turner; k. B. B.
- Thomas Welsh, b. Ireland, res. cr. Milford; m. i. Nov. 12, '63; 19; s.; bootmaker; wd. arm May 6, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th, as ab. wd.; m. o. June 20, '65.
- Orlando Wetherbee, b. Ashby; 18; s.; butcher; wd. shoulder May '64; m. o.
- Charles A. Wheeler, b. unknown, res. cr. West Boylston; m. i. Dec. 5, '61; 25; m.; physician; m. o. Dec. 17, '62, for pro.; 1st lieut. asst. surgeon 12th Mass. Dec. 20, '62; m. o. July 8, '64.
- Benjamin Whitcomb, b. unknown, res. cr. Winchendon; m. i. Dec. 14, '61; 38; m.; carpenter; wd. leg Ant.; dis. Dec. 5, '62.
- Gilman W. Whitcomb, b. Ashby, res. cr. Princeton; 21; s.; farmer; wd. foot; dis. April '64.
- Lowell C. White, b. res. cr. Westminster; 18; s.; butcher; m. o.
- Enoch Whitney, b. unknown, res. cr. Cambridge; m. i. Aug. 7, '62; 25; physician; des. Sept. 9, '62.
- Henry F. Whittemore, b. unknown; 29; m.; stone-cutter; pris. B. B.; dis. Oct. 24, '62.
- Josiah W. Wilder, b. unknown, res. cr. Dana; m.; Aug. 13, '62; 21; mechanic; m. o. G. O. 28.
- Horace H. Wyman, b. res. cr. Winchendon; 20; s.; machinist; dis. Feb. 10, '62.

 COMPANY C.

The members of this company were natives and citizens of Clinton, and were credited on the quota of that town unless it is otherwise stated in each particular. For the history of the company before the date of muster, see pages 15-18 and 21-23.

Henry Bowman, capt. Co. C Aug. 1, '61-Aug. 6, '62; b. Lancaster; 26; m.; book-keeper; pris. B. B., ex. Aug. 2, '62; pro. major 34th M. V. Aug.

- 6, '62, declined commission; col. 36th M.V. Aug. 22, '62; com. brigade as col. July '63; re. July 27, '63; re-com. col. 36th Oct. '63, never m., reg't below minimum. On staff Gen. Wilcox Nov. 21-Dec. 25, '63; asst. q. m. U.S.V. Feb. 29, '64; q. m. U.S.V. Aug. 2-Nov. 10, '64; brevet major U. S. V. March 13, '65; m. o. Aug. 15, '66.
- Richard Derby, 2d lieutenant. Co. H; b. Medfield, res. Boston, cr. Salem; 26; s.; salesman; 1st lieutenant. Nov. 22, '61; m. and ass. Co. C Jan. 5, '61; capt. Co. C Aug. 6, '62; com. never reached him; com. Co. C in ab. of Capt. Bowman Jan. 6, '61-Aug. 6, '61, as capt. Aug. 6, '61-Sept. 17, '61; k. Ant. Walter Gale, b. res. cr. Northboro; p.; 27; s.; student; sergt. Aug. 1, '61; 2d lieutenant. Jan. 17, '62; m. and ass. Co. C Feb. 10, '62; capt. Oct. 24, '62; m. and ass. Co. C Nov. 26, '62; com. Co. C Sept. 17, '62-Jan. '64; det. judge advocate staff of gen. 2d div. 2d Army Corps, Jan. 8, '64; major July 14, '64, not m.; wd. neck Ant. leg Gett.; m. o. July 29, '64.
- Thomas J. Hastings. See Co. D. Com. Co. C as 1st lieutenant in ab. of Capt. Gale, Feb. 1, '64-June 22, '64; capt. July 14, '64, not m.
- Henry G. Bigelow. See Co. D. 1st lieutenant. ass. Co. C April 9, '63; dis. Aug. 28, '63.
- Joshua Freeman, sergt.; b. Provincetown; 40; m.; blacksmith; com. sergt. 15th regt. Jan. 1, '62; 2d lieutenant. March 19, '63; 1st lieutenant and ass. Co. C Oct. 17, '63; det. chief pioneers 1st brig. 2d div. 2d Army Corps Nov. 1, '63-Jan. 18, '64; tr. Co. I April 28, '64; m. o.
- Andrew L. Fuller, 1st lieutenant; b. Lancaster; 37; m.; manufacturer; re. Oct. 7, '61.
- James N. Johnson, 2d lieutenant; b. Leominster, res. cr. Northboro; s.; 33; comb-maker; re. Jan. 16, '62; reën. as private March 31, '62; tr. 20th as ab. sick.
- John E. Norcross. See Co. E. 2d lieutenant. Co. C April 9-Sept. 6, '63.
- John D. Brigham, corp.; b. Boylston; 27; s.; railroad repairer; 1st sergt. June 1, '62; pris. and wd. B. B.; dis. Dec. 10, '62.
- Elisha G. Buss, p.; b. Sterling; 26; s.; carpenter; corp. May 1, '62; sergt. Aug. 5, '62; 1st sergt. Oct. 10, '62; 2d lieutenant. Nov. 14, '62, m. Feb. 17, '63, ass. Co. K; 1st lieutenant. March 15, '63, Co. K; wd. thigh Gett.; d. wd. July 23, '63.
- Willis A. Cook, sergt.; b. Wrentham; 32; m.; operative; 1st sergt. Sept. 14, '61; pris. B. B.; dis. April 12, '62.
- William J. Coulter, p.; b. Troy, N.Y.; 20; s.; printer; corp. Nov. 12, '62; sergt. Dec. 10, '62; acting 1st sergt. July '63; 1st lieutenant. Nov. 21, '63, m. and ass. Co. B Dec. 10, '63; pris. June 22, '64; ex. March '65; declined com. as 1st lieutenant. 20th; m. o. March 12, '65.
- Alden Fuller, 1st sergt.; b. Watertown; 29; m.; machinist; pris. B. B.; dis. March 11, '63.
- Charles H. Hurlburt, p.; b. Portland, Me.; res. cr. Worcester; 18; s.; railroad repairer; corp. July 1, '63; sergt. Dec. 10, '63; acting 1st sergt. Dec. 11, '63; 1st lieutenant. July 14, '64, ass. Co. F; pris. B. B. and June 22, '64; reën. Feb. 19, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th, as pris.; m. o. May 16, '65.
- Joseph P. Johnson, sergt.; res. cr. Northboro; 27; m.; comb-maker; 1st sergt. May 1, '62; wd. spine Ant.; d. Oct. 4, '62.
- James Mahoney, p.; b. Fall River, res. cr. Westboro; m. i.; Aug. 6, '61; 19; s.; fireman; corp. Sept. 18, '62; sergt. Oct. 1, '62; 1st sergt. Nov. 1, '62; wd. head, legs, Gett.; m. o. Sept. 26, '64.

- Edward W. Benson, corp.; b. Portsmouth, N. H.; 25; m.; moulder; sergt. Feb. 1, '62; d. Aug. 4, '62.
- Thomas Caulfield, p.; b. Roxbury; 24; m.; iron moulder; corp. Nov. 23, '61; sergt. May 30, '62; pris. and wd. body Ant.; dis. Dec. 1, '62; reën. 2d L. Batt. Jan. 16, '64; pris. and wd. April 9, '64; m. o. Aug. 12, '65.
- Charles Frazer, p.; b. Scotland; 23; m.; fish dealer; corp. '61; color-sergt. Feb. 10, '62; wd. hand Ant.; 2d lieut. Aug. 6, '62, com. declined.
- Henry B. Sargent, p.; b. West Boylston; 16; s.; farmer; dis. Feb. 11, '63; reën. Co. M, 2d H. Art. Dec. 15, '63; corp.; sergt.; m. o. Sept. 5, '65.
- William R. Wheelock. See Staff Officers.
- James K. Witham, p.; b. Hartford, Ct., res. cr. Worcester; 18; s.; farmer; corp. Dec. 10, '62; sergt. Jan. 1, '63; wd. arm Ant.; m. o. July 11, '64.
- Lafayette Worden, p.; b. Cleveland, O.; res. cr. Berlin; 19; farmer; corp. Nov. 15, '62; sergt. July 4, '63; wd. hand June 27, '62; reën. Feb. 18, '64; wd. knee May '64; d. June 15, '64.
- Archibald D. Wright, p.; b. Scotland; 18; s.; machinist; sergt. Nov. 1, '62; wd. ankle, abdomen B. B.; wd. arm Gett.; pris. May 6, '64; m. o. May 25, '65.
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- Moses S. Beaman, p.; b. res. cr. Sterling; 19; s.; farmer; corp. Dec. 10, '63; pris. B. B.; m. o. July 11, '64.
- James F. Burgess, corp.; b. England; 26; s.; dresser; dis. Jan. 7, '63.
- James P. Chenery, p.; b. Medfield; 19; s.; printer; corp. Jan. 1, '63; pris. B. B.; k. Gett.
- Briggs M. Daboll, corp.; b. Stephentown, N. Y.; 29; s.; watchman; wd. hand B. B.; dis. May 1, '62; reën. 36th M. V. M. June 4, '62; dis. June '62. In Q. M. dept. of Army of Potomac, Aug. '64-July '65.
- Trustum D. Dexter, p.; b. Orange; 27; s.; carpenter; corp. Jan. 1, '63; gave up warrant; wd. arm Ant.; m. o.
- John H. Diamond, p.; b. Buffalo, N. Y.; res. Baltimore, Md.; cr. Fal-mouth; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 25; s.; sailor; corp. Aug. 15, '63; tr. Co. E, 20th, as ab. sick; m. o.
- Daniel W. Freeman, p.; b. Webster, res. cr. Worcester; m. i. Aug. 8, '62; 26; school-teacher; corp. Dec. 10, '63; wd. thigh Ant. and arm Gett.; tr. non. com. staff as sergt.-major June 4, '64; m. o.
- Horace L. Peverly, p.; b. Charlestown, N. H.; res. cr. Northboro; 23; m.; painter; corp. May 1, '62; wd. legs Ant.; dis. Feb. 18, '63.
- Charles G. Ryder, p.; b. Rochester; m. i. Aug. 12, '62; 28; m.; machinist; corp. July 1, '63; pris. June 22, '64; m. o. May 17, '65.
- Charles L. Shaw, p.; b. res. cr. Northboro; 28; s.; farmer; corp. July 1, '63; reën. Feb. 18, '64; pris. June 22, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th, as pris.; d. Dec. 10, '64, as pris.
- David O. Wallace, corp.; b. Lunenburg; 19; s.; carpenter; pris. and wd. hand B. B.; pris. June 22, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th, as pris.; d. Feb. 4, '65, as pris.
- William H. Taylor, drummer; b. Boston, res. cr. Lowell; 24; s.; carpenter; pris. B. B.; tr. V.R.C. Oct. 27, '63; m. o. July 14, '64.
- Thomas D. Mahan, wagoner; b. res. cr. Northboro; 40; s.; stone-layer; tr. Co. I Feb. 2, '62; m. o.

PRIVATES.

- Nathaniel Alexander, b. res. cr. Lancaster; m. i. Dec. 17, '61; 40; m.; farmer; dis. Oct. 15, '62.
- Edward A. Andrews, b. res. unknown, cr. Worcester; 25; dis. Aug. 6, '61.

- George L. Avery, b. Becket, N. H.; res. cr. Brookfield; m. i. Aug. 15, '62; 21; m.; farmer; wd. foot Ant.; dis. Jan. 6, '63.
- Tompkins Baker, b. res. unknown, cr. Worcester; dis. Aug. 6, '61.
- Charles H. Balcomb, b. Tewksbury, res. cr. Lancaster; m. i. Dec. 14, '61; 33; m.; stone-mason; tr. V.R.C. April 15, '64; m. o. Oct. 27, '65.
- James C. Barlow, b. Gardiner, Me.; res. cr. Southbridge; m. i. Aug. 11, '62; 29; wheelwright; wd. hip Ant.; dis. April 18, '63.
- Zadoc C. Batterson, b. Northbridge; m. i. Dec. 14, '61; 26; m.; machinist; k. Ant.
- James A. Bonney, p.; b. Erving; 25; s.; printer; pris. B. B.; k. May 31, '64.
- Thomas Breach, b. England, res. cr. Northboro; m. i. Dec. 19, '61; 31; s.; hostler; wd. contusion F. O.; reën. Feb. 19, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th; m. o.
- Samuel D. Brigham, b. Boylston; 40; m.; butcher; dis. Jan. 24, '63.
- Amos W. Broad, b. Sterling, res. cr. West Boylston; m. i. Feb. 24, '62; 18; s.; farmer; det. Batt. B, 3d R. I. Art. April 19, '63; tr. V.R.C. before April 20, '64.
- Thomas H. Burgess, b. England; 21; s.; operative; wd. wrist Ant.; dis. Nov. 15, '62.
- Charles Campbell, b. Fairfax, Va., res. unknown, cr. Dennis; sub.; m. i. July 31, '63; 21; harness-maker; never reported.
- John H. Carpenter, b. Uxbridge, res. cr. Belmont; m. i. Aug. 14, '62; 21; clerk; wd. shoulder Ant.; wd. side, shoulder, Gett.; tr. V.R.C. March 15, '64; m. o. July 11, '64.
- Cornelius Carr, b. England, res. unknown, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. July 23, '63; 27; s.; sailor; dis. Dec. 4, '63.
- John E. Carruth, b. Bolton; 19; s.; shoemaker; wd. face Ant.; dis. Feb. 4, '63; reën. 2d H. Art., Co. M, Dec. 28, '63; m. o. Sept. 3, '65.
- William Carter, b. unknown, res. cr. Sturbridge; m. i. Dec. 17, '61; 37; m.; farmer; d. July 18, '62.
- Charles Cassidy, b. Jersey City, N. J.; res. unknown, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. Aug. 1, '63; 21; s.; teamster; wd. May 15, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th, as ab. sick; m. o. as ab. sick.
- Hiram A. Chambers, b. Woonsocket Falls, R. I.; res. Worcester; 19; s.; wire-worker; k. Ant.
- Robert Clark, b. Ireland, res. unknown, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. Aug. 1, '63; 22; s.; laborer; never reported.
- Thomas E. Clarke, b. res. unknown, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. July 16, '63; 26; s.; laborer; tr. navy April 23, '64.
- Joseph Clegg, b. England, res. Worcester, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. Aug. 1, '63; 33; m.; machinist; pris. Oct. 14, '63; d. Feb. 28, '64, as pris.
- James Coates, b. res. England, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. July 22, '63; 27; m.; trunk-maker; pris. June 22, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th, as ab. pris.; d. Oct. 11, '64, as pris.
- Isaac P. Connig, b. res. West Cambridge, cr. Clinton; m. i. Aug. 12, '62; 24; m.; machinist; wd. thigh Ant.; dis. March 19, '63.
- Charles Coolidge, b. res. unknown, cr. Worcester; 33. No further record.
- Rufus K. Cooper, b. Northbridge; 23; s.; painter; pris. B. B.; wd. breast Gett.; m. o.
- John H. Cowan, b. Scotland, res. cr. Orleans; sub.; m. i. July 31, '63; 27; m.; cooper; d. May 25, '64.
- Matthew Creelman, b. Nova Scotia; 21; s.; harness-maker; des. Dec. 31, '61.
- John Cronan, b. Ireland, res. unknown, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. July 23, '63; des. Sept. 12, '63.

- George W. Cutler, b. Nashua, N. H.; res. cr. Lancaster; 22; s.; harness-maker; k. B. B.
- Isaac N. Cutler, b. Nashua, N. H.; res. cr. Lancaster; 20; s.; machinist; wd. ankle Ant.; dis. March 24, '63.
- Orin L. Cutting, b. Framingham; 29; s.; stable-keeper; dis. Oct. 28, '62.
- Patrick Dagan (Daghan), b. Ireland, res. cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. Aug. 5, '63; 26; s.; hostler; des. Sept. 12, '63.
- Henry L. Davidson, b. Littleton, res. cr. Sterling; 22; s.; farmer; reën. Feb. 12, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th; m. o.
- Peter Dawson, b. Ireland, res. unknown, cr. Chatham; sub.; m. i. July 27, '63; 21; s.; seaman; wd. May 6, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th, as ab. wd.; m. o.
- Patrick Dempsey, b. Ireland, res. Mansfield, cr. Raynham; sub.; m. i. July 24, '63; 30; m.; laborer; tr. Co. E, 20th, as ab. sick; m. o.
- Edward Deniff, b. Ireland, res. Boston, cr. Roxbury; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 22; s.; laborer; tr. Co. E, 20th, as ab. sick; m. o.
- Joseph S. Dickson, b. Ireland; 31; m.; farmer; wd. knee Ant.; dis. Dec. 17, '62.
- Jacob Dockwiller, b. France, res. Brooklyn, N.Y., cr. Taunton; sub.; m. i. July 24, '63; 21; s.; sailor; had been soldier C. S. A.; des. March 7, '64.
- George Doherty, b. Canada, res. unknown, cr. Boxboro; sub.; m. i. July 24, '63; 21; baker; des. Aug. 21, '63.
- John Donaldson, b. Scotland, res. unknown, cr. Sandwich; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 33; book-binder; des. Jan. 4, '64.
- Peter Donnelly, b. Ireland, res. Long Island, N.Y., cr. Provincetown; sub.; m. i. July 29, '63; 21; s.; baker; des. Sept. 12, '63.
- George S. Drieur, b. Switzerland, res. unknown, cr. Barnstable; sub.; m. i. July 28, '63; 33; s.; farmer; des. Sept. 12, '63.
- John Dumas, b. England, res. unknown, cr. Berlin; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 26; s.; laborer; des. Oct. 4, '63.
- William Eccles, b. Pawtucket, R. I.; 22; s.; comb-maker; wd. Ant.; d. Jan. 4, '63.
- Heman O. Edgerly, b. Cambridge, Vt.; 22; s.; comb-maker; pris. B. B.; no record of dis.; reported reën. 4th N. H.; wd. Petersburg.
- Frank H. Fairbanks, b. res. cr. Lancaster; 25; s.; pump-maker; reported k. F. O.; dis. April 10, '62; reën. Co. H, 34th Regt.; pris. Cedar Creek Oct. 13, '64; d. pris. Jan. 4, '65.
- Franklin H. Farnsworth, b. res. cr. Lancaster; 19; s.; farmer; k. F. O.
- George O. Fitch, b. Amherst, res. cr. Uxbridge; m. i. March 6, '62; 20; m.; blacksmith; wd. head '62; d. Ant.
- John Frazer, b. Scotland; 31; s.; operative; k. Ant.
- Orin A. French, b. Nashua, N. H.; res. Brookline, N. H.; cr. Dartmouth; m. i. March 5, '64; 18; s.; farmer; wd. thumb May '64; tr. Co. E, 20th; d. Jan. 1, '65, as pris.
- Albert C. Frost, b. res. cr. Belmont; m. i. Aug. 14, '62; 17; farmer; wd. leg Gett.; d. Gett. Sept. 16, '63.
- Joseph L. Frost, b. res. cr. Belmont; m. i. Aug. 14, '62; 21; farmer; wd. hand Gett.; m. o.
- Harlow D. Getchell, b. Canada, res. cr. Worcester; 19; s.; shoemaker; wd. thigh Ant.; d. Oct. 14, '62.
- David N. Gilmore, b. Boston, res. cr. Westboro; m. i. March 11, '62; 18; s.; farmer; dis. Dec. 3, '62; reën. Co. K, 34th Regt., Dec. 26, '63; k. April 16, '64, New Market.
- Pearl S. Gott, b. Brookville, Me.; res. cr. Sterling; 20; s.; wheelwright; tr. Western Flotilla Feb. 17, '62; k. Island No 10, April 7, '62.

- Frank Graichen, b. unknown; m. i. Aug. 27, '61; 28; m.; weaver; wd. B. B.; reën. 2d H. Art. Dec. 24, '63; m. o. Sept. 3, '65.
- Gustave Graichen, b. Germany; 22; s.; operative; wd. knee Ant.; dis. Dec. 30, '62.
- James M. Gray, b. Sheffield, Vt.; res. cr. Lancaster; 23; s.; pump-maker; dis. Feb. 16, '63.
- Henry Greenwood, b. England; 25; s.; printer; pris. B. B.; reën. Feb. 19, '64; tr. Signal Corps April 1, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th; m. o. Aug. 16, '65.
- Joseph A. Hamilton, b. Barre, res. cr. Worcester; 19; s.; farmer; pris. B. B.; dis. Feb. 18, '63.
- Charles H. Hapgood, b. Harvard; 20; s.; baker; wd. arm Ant.; tr. V.R. C. Feb. 15, '64; m. o. July 16, '64.
- Thomas Hastings, res. cr. Berlin; m. i. Dec. 14, '61; 43; w.; shoemaker; wd. thigh Ant. d. Sept. 28, '62.
- Junius D. Hayes, b. Poland, Me.; m. i. Dec. 14, '61; 24; s.; engineer; dis. Nov. 15, '62. Afterwards drafted; paid commutation July '63.
- George I. Henry, b. Boylston; 20; s.; operative; tr. V.R.C. Dec. 23, '63; m. o. July 14, '65.
- Samuel Hodgkins, b. Lyman, Me.; res. cr. Northboro; 19; s.; clerk; pris. B. B.; dis. to accept clerkship adjt. gen. office, Feb. 20, '64.
- Charles E. Holbrook, b. Nashua, N. H.; 19; s.; operative; k. Ant.
- William P. Holder, b. unknown; m. i. Jan. 5, '64; 45; shoe-binder; m.; m. o. Jan. 22, '64.
- Henry B. Holman, b. Northboro; 19; s.; hostler; wd. leg Ant.; dis. Dec. 6, '62.
- Joseph S. Holman, b. Northboro; 20; s.; hostler; forage master 1st div. 2d Army Corps; m. o.
- Henry H. Hosley, b. West Townsend, res. cr. Townsend; 21; s.; painter; tr. Batt. I, 1st U. S. L. A., Nov. 12, '62; wd. chin June 20, '64; m. o. July 12, '64.
- Frank E. Houghton, b. Amherst; 18; s.; butcher; reën. Batt. I, 1st U. S. L. A., Nov. 12, '62; k. June 24, '64.
- James O. Howard, b. Bethel, Me.; 19; s.; hostler; pris. B. B.; never reported.
- Elmer B. Howe, b. res. cr. Boylston; 32; m.; butcher; pris. June 22, '64; m. o.
- Henry G. Howe, b. res. cr. Sterling; 22; s.; surveyor; wd. leg Ant.; dis. Sept. 19, '63.
- Andrew J. Hunt, b. Hopkinton, N. H.; 28; m.; machinist; det. Western Flotilla Feb. 17, '62; dis. 15th regt. O. War. Dept. Dec. 8, '63; m. o. Aug. 8, '64.
- George W. Hunt, b. Lowell; 18; s.; machinist; pris. Ant.; dis. Dec. 4, '63.
- Calvin Jameson, b. res. unknown; cr. Worcester; 33; dis. Aug. 6, '61.
- Amos S. Jaquith, b. Jaffrey, N. H.; 35; m.; comb-maker; pris. B. B.; m. o. July 11, '64.
- Albert N. Jeffis, b. Brookline, N. H.; 20; cooper; s.; reën. Batt. I, 1st U. S. L. A. Nov. 13, '62; dis. June 4, '63.
- Adelbert W. Johnson, b. Leominster, res. cr. Lancaster; 23; carpenter; s.; dis. Dec. 13, '61; reën. Co. C, 53d Regt., Nov. 6, '62; d. wds. received July 11, '63, about Aug. 1.
- Charles A. Jones, b. New Brunswick, res. Nova Scotia, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. July 16, '63; 27; m.; barber; ass. Co. C Jan. 6, '64; tr. Dept. of the North West, April 29, '64.
- Sumner R. Kilburn, b. Lunenburg; res. cr. Sterling; 18; s.; farmer; wd. leg Gett.; reën. Feb. 18, '64; d. June 16, '64.

- Henry Kinney, b. New Milford, res. cr. Northboro; 28; m.; shoemaker; wd. hip B. B.; dis. Oct. 10, '62.
- John Kirchner, b. Germany; 31; m.; weaver; supposed drowned B. B.
- Solomon Kittredge, b. Billerica, res. cr. Lancaster; m. i. Dec. 14, '61; 42; m.; stone-mason; dis. May 1, '62; in V.R.C. July 1, '64.
- Hiram Laffin. See Co. D.
- John P. Larkin, b. Wrentham, res. cr. Northboro; m. i. July 27, '61; 19; s.; shoemaker; k. Ant.
- Willard R. Lawrence, b. Jaffrey, N. H.; res. cr. Lancaster; 28; s.; farmer; k. B. B.
- Gilman W. Laythe, b. Newport, Vt.; 23; s.; shoemaker; wd. leg Ant.; dis. Jan. 6, '63.
- Orin A. Laythe, b. Newport; Vt.; m. i. Aug. 12, '62; 25; s.; carpenter; wd. shoulder, breast Ant.; dis. March 14, '63.
- Alexander Lord, b. Orange; m. i. Aug. 12, '62; 27; m.; manufacturer; pris. and wd. left side Ant.; k. Gett.
- Leander Loring, b. Boylston, res. cr. Princeton; m. i. Jan. 6, '62; 44; m.; brick-maker; dis. Dec. 9, '62.
- Albert W. Lowe, b. res. unknown, cr. Worcester; 29; dis. Aug. 6, '61.
- Theodore E. Lowe, 21; s.; comb-maker; wd. hip Ant.; tr. V.R.C. Jan. 15, '64; m. o. Nov. 19, '65.
- Alexander Lyle, b. Scotland; 29; s.; operative; wd. foot F. O.; dis. Sept. 18, '62.
- Thomas G. Mahan, b. Northboro; 40; stone-layer; tr. Co. I Feb. 2, '62.
- Edward Malley, drummer; b. Ireland; 20; s.; operative; m. o. [Should have been entered as a musician.]
- Hiram Makepeace, b. Biddeford, Me.; 39; m.; carpenter; dis. July 31, '62.
- Charles V. Marsh, b. res. cr. Belmont; m. i. Aug. 14, '62; 27; farmer; wd. head, hand Gett.; m. o. as m. in a.
- Joseph Mason, b. E. Canada, res. Canada, cr. Dartmouth; m. i. March 14, '64; 23; s.; farmer; wd. May 6, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th, as ab. wd.; m. o. March 18, '65, as ab. wd.
- Waldo B. Maynard, b. Northboro; 23; farmer; s.; wd. chest Ant.; d. Sept. 24, '62.
- Joseph E. Miner, b. Boston; m. i. Aug. 12, '62; 26; m.; carpenter; wd. face, hands, knees Ant.; wd. hand Gett.; det. Pioneer Corps April 14-July '64; m. o.
- Joseph Minot, b. St. Albans, Vt.; res. cr. Grafton; m. i. Aug. 7, '62; 24; farmer; dis. unknown.
- Oliver W. Moore, b. res. cr. Lowell; m. i. Aug. 11, '62; 20; farmer; det. Batt. B, R. I. Art., Dec. 24, '62; tr. V.R.C. Sept. 8, '63; dis. July 18, '64.
- Robert R. Moses, b. Wales, res. cr. Lancaster; m. i. Dec. 17, '61; 24; s.; slater; wd. Ant.; d. Oct. 3, '62.
- George Muir, b. Scotland; 21; s.; weaver; no record of dis.; reën. Co. B, 13th N.Y. Cav.
- Thomas P. Munyan, b. unknown, res. cr. Webster; m. i. Nov. 26, '61; 25; s.; teamster; wd. shoulder Ant.; d. Oct. 27, '62.
- Patrick Neyland, b. Ireland, res. cr. Boylston; m. i. Nov. 26, '61; 35; s.; farmer; dis. Dec. 2, '62.
- Hervey B. Olcott, b. Keene, N. H.; m. i. Dec. 14, '61; 29; m.; engineer; wd. loin Ant.; wd. arm Gett.; tr. V.R.C. March 15, '64; m. o. Dec. 13, '64.
- George F. Osgood, b. Lancaster; m. i. Aug. 12, '62; 22; s.; bootmaker; pris. wd. Ant.; k. Gett.

- Otis S. Osgood, b. Brattleboro, Vt.; 22; s.; watchman; wd. arm Ant.; dis. Jan. 10, '63.
- Charles H. Palmer, b. Southbridge, res. cr. Worcester; 20; s.; wire-worker; dis. May 1, '62.
- Jasper A. Partridge, b. Illinois; res. cr. Alstead, N. H.; 20; s.; farmer; dis. April 15, '62.
- Charles G. Perkins, b. Nashua, N. H.; res. cr. Worcester; 20; s.; watchman; wd. hand Ant.; dis. Nov. 17, '62.
- Silas Priest, b. res. unknown; cr. Worcester; 31; m. o. unknown.
- George T. D. Putnam, b. Wilton, N. H.; m. i. Dec. 14, '61; 21; s.; merchant; reg't bugler Feb. 10, '62; dis. Dec. 17, '62.
- Henry A. Putnam, b. Nashua, N. H.; 24; s.; mechanic; pris. B. B.; tr. Batt. I, 1st U. S. L. Art., Nov. 12, '62; m. o. July 12, '64.
- George O. Raymond, b. Thompson, Ct.; res. cr. Oxford; m. i. Aug. 8, '62; 32; shoemaker; wd. hip Gett.; d. July 22, '63.
- Henry Reed, b. Ireland, res. East Canada, cr. Dartmouth; m. i. March 14, '64; 34; s.; farmer; pris. May 6, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th, as pris.; m. o. as pris.
- Henry H. Rugg, b. res. cr. Lancaster; 21; s.; baker; wd. shoulder B. B.; dis. May 1, '62; reën. Co. K, 53d Regt., Oct. 17, '62; m. o. Sept. 2, '63; also in Co. E, 42d Regt., July 22, '64; m. o. Nov. 11, '64.
- George W. B. Sawyer, b. Westboro, res. cr. Shrewsbury; 18; s.; shoemaker; pris. B. B.; k. Ant.
- Joseph C. Shattuck, b. Townsend; res. Brookline; cr. Dartmouth; m. i. March 14, '64; 18; s.; farmer; tr. Co. E, 20th; m. o. June 3, '65.
- Alfred Smith, b. Thompson, Ct.; m. i. Aug. 7, '62; 27; s.; farmer; wd. face Ant.; reën. Feb. 18, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th, as ab. wd.; m. o.
- Charles E. Smith, b. Framingham, res. cr. Northboro; 25; m.; shoemaker; wd. head Ant.; dis. Dec. 13, '61.
- Francis E. Smith, b. Dorchester; 18; s.; weaver; d. July 25, '62.
- John Smith, b. England; 27; m.; weaver; pris. B. B.; wd. breast Gett.; tr. V.R.C. Jan. 15, '64; d.
- Samuel T. Smith, b. Philadelphia, Pa.; res. cr. Boylston; 34; m.; painter; wd. hip B. B.; wd. ankle Ant.; dis. March 13, '63.
- Egbert M. Stevens, b. Collinsville, Ct.; res. cr. Webster; m. i. March 11, '62; 18; s.; farmer; wd. Ant.; d. Feb. 8, '63.
- Charles E. Stone, b. Tolland, Ct.; res. unknown, cr. Worcester; m. i. Dec. 14, '61; dis. Nov. 13, '62.
- Charles A. Tenney, b. Leominster, res. cr. Sterling; 21; s.; chair-maker; pris. B. B.; wd. foot May 16, '64; m. o.
- Leonard M. Towsley, b. Manchester, Vt.; 27; m.; machinist; wd. arm Ant.; d. Sept. 27, '62.
- Charles A. Trowbridge, b. Westford, res. cr. Northboro; 34; m.; comb-maker; dis. Oct. 28, '62.
- Luther G. Turner, b. Groton, res. cr. Lancaster; 23; m.; blacksmith; wd. B. B.; d. Nov. 1, '61.
- William Walker, b. Germany; 28; s.; weaver; k. B. B.
- Charles W. Ware, b. res. unknown, cr. Worcester; dis. Aug. 6, '61.
- James G. Warner, b. res. cr. Lancaster; 31; m.; farmer; k. B. B.
- Charles E. Warren, b. Princeton, res. cr. Northboro; 18; s.; farmer; wd. thigh Ant.; d. Oct. 2, '62.
- George O. Wilder, res. cr. Holliston; m. i. Dec. 14, '61; 18; s.; clerk; sergt.-major Oct. 22, '63; 1st lieut., adjt., Dec. 3, '63, m. and ass. Co. A June 4, '64; pris. Ant.; pris. June 22, '64; reën. March 10, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th; m. o. as pris. May 15, '65.

Edwin H. Willard, b. Sterling, res. cr. Lancaster; 23; m.; farmer; m. o. Milo Winchester, b. res. unknown; 39; dis. Aug. 6, '61.

John Wood, b. res. cr. Bolton; m. i. Dec. 14, '61; 20; s.; farmer; dis. Jan. 12, '63.

Thomas N. Woodward, Jr., b. Brookline, res. cr. Northboro; 23; s.; farmer; pris. B. B.; d. Nov. 25, '61, as pris.

COMPANY D.

The members of this company were natives and citizens of Worcester, and were credited to that city unless it is otherwise stated in each particular. For the history of the company before the date of muster see pages 22-24.

John M. Studley, capt.; 32; m.; stair-builder; pris. B. B.; dis. Oct. 27, '62, to accept pro.; lieutenant-col. 51st Regt. Oct. 31, '62, m. Nov. 11, '62; m. o. July 27, '63.

Edward J. Russell. See Co. F. Capt. Co. D April 10-Sept. 8, '63.

Samuel J. Fletcher. See Co. H. Capt. Co. D Oct. 30, '63-July 28, '64.

Thomas J. Hastings, sergt.; b. Camden, Me.; 26; s.; machinist; 1st sergt. Feb. 1, '63; 2d lieutenant. March 15, '63; 1st lieutenant Aug. 30, '63 (see Co. C); com. Co. D Dec. 11-21, '63, March 10-June 22, '64; capt. July 14, '64, never m.; pris. B. B.; pris. June 22, '64; m. o. March 11, '65.

Daniel W. Knight. See Co. F. 1st lieutenant. Co. D Dec. 23, '63-July 28, '64. Com. Co. D Dec. 31, '63-Jan. 29, '64.

Charles M. Murray, p.; b. Lowell; 31; m.; bootmaker; sergt. Aug. '61; 1st sergt. Sept. 21, '61; 2d lieutenant. Nov. 7, '62; 1st lieutenant. Jan. 3, '63, m. Feb. 16, '63; wd. Ant.; wd. ankle Gett.; re. Sept. 25, '63.

Nelson V. Stanton. See Co. H. Com. Co. D as 1st lieutenant. Oct. 21-Dec. 1, '63.

Edwin P. Woodward, 1st lieutenant; 29; s.; accountant; det. signal service Sept. 1, '61-June '63; capt. April 11, '63, never m.; tr. Co. K July 21, '63; re. July 29, '63.

J. William Grout, 2d lieutenant; 18; s.; student; k. B. B.

John S. Hall, 1st sergt.; b. Boston; 21; s.; actor; sergt.-major Sept. 25, '61; 2d lieutenant. Nov. 22, '61, m. and ass. Co. D Jan. 6, '62; wd. thigh while on picket duty April 28, '62; re. Jan. 8, '63.

Hans P. Jorgensen. See Co. A. 2d lieutenant. Co. D Nov. 22, '61-Jan. 6, '62.

George E. Barnard, p.; b. Waldoboro, Me.; 21; s.; jeweler; sergt. May 16, '63; acting 1st sergt. July 29-Oct. 23, '63; 1st sergt. Oct. 23, '63; wd. B. B.; k. June 22, '64.

William H. Ford, corp.; b. res. Abington; 21; s.; wool-carder; sergt. Oct. 24, '63; pris. B. B.; wd. leg May '64; reën. Feb. 4, '64; tr. to Co. E, 20th, as ab. wd.; m. o.

Luther D. Goddard, sergt; 34; m.; merchant; pris. B. B.; dis. June 20, '62.

Henry Houghton, p.; b. England; 22; s.; machinist; corp.; sergt. Jan. 1, '64; pris. B. B.; wd. May 12, '64; reën. Feb. 4, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th, as ab. wd.; m. o. July 10, '65.

John S. Logue, p.; b. Boston; 23; m.; boot-packer; corp.; sergt. Nov. 1, '63; reën. March 23, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th, as ab. sick; m. o.

- F. McCambridge, corp.; b. Newton Corner; 21; s.; trader; lance-sergt. Oct. 22, '61; sergt. June 20, '62; d. Aug. 8, '62.
- George G. Noyes, p.; b. Holliston; 25; s.; book-maker; sergt. before B. B.; pris. B. B.; dis. April 22, '63.
- Oliver S. Oakes, sergt.; b. Prescott; 24; s.; telegraph operator; wd. forehead B. B.; wd. arm Ant.; m. o.
- Edward A. Rice, p.; b. Boston; 27.; s.; clerk; sergt. Feb. 1, '63; Q. M. sergt. Dec. 8, '63; m. o.
- John A. Richardson, p.; b. Shrewsbury, cr. Leicester; 22; s.; mechanic; corp. Oct. 22, '61; sergt. Oct. 24, '63; wd. May 4, '64; reën. March 24, '64; tr. Co. K, 20th, as ab.; dis. June 21, '65.
- Walter S. Shaw, p.; b. res. cr. Paxton; 22; s.; marble-worker; lance-sergt. Oct. 22, '61; wd. arm June 27, '62; d. July 17, '62.
- Charles W. Upham, p.; 18; s.; clerk; sergt.; pris. B. B.; d. Dec. 14, '61, as pris.
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- Samuel W. Armington, p.; b. St. Johnsbury, Vt.; m. i. Jan. 3, '62; 24; s.; clerk; corp.; pris. Nov. 27, '63; tr. Co. E, 20th, as pris.; m. o. March 26, '65.
- Henry S. Baker, p.; b. Grafton; 22; s.; clicker; corp.; wd. shoulder Gett.; dis. April 22, '64.
- William H. Bergen, p.; b. Newark, N. J.; res. cr. Leicester; 19; s.; boot-maker; corp.; wd. shoulder Gett.; tr. V. R. C. March 15, '64; d. July 11, '64.
- George W. Farr, p.; b. Walpole, N. H.; m. i. Aug. 25, '61; 22; s.; clerk; corp. Sept. '63; tr. 20th; m. o. May 22, '65.
- James B. Gibson, p.; b. Acquackanonck, N. J.; res. Fitchburg, cr. Millbury; m. i. Feb. 24, '62; 20; s.; yeoman; reën. Feb. 25, '64; corp. Feb. 25, '64; wd. May 6, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th, as ab. wd.; m. o.
- E. D. Jordan, corp.; b. Lowell; 29; m.; tinsmith; Sept. 20, '61; wd. leg Ant.; d. Sept. 25, '62.
- James H. Kneeland, p.; b. Boston; 24; s.; carriage-smith; corp.; lost arm Ant.; dis. Dec. 13, '62; reën. V. R. C.; m. o. Oct. '64.
- John S. Knight, p.; b. unknown, res. cr. Greenville, Me.; 26; s.; scythe-maker; corp.; wd. shoulder, side, back Gett.; dis. Feb. 8, '64.
- Charles A. Mullany, p.; b. res. cr. Boston; 21; s.; shoemaker; corp.; m. o.
- Warren F. Osgood, corp.; b. res. cr. Salisbury; 22; s.; carriage-trimmer; wd. thigh Ant.; tr. V. R. C. July 19, '63; dis. date unknown.
- Lyman B. Parkhurst, p.; b. unknown, res. cr. Hopkinton; 19; s.; mechanic; corp.; m. o.
- Joseph F. Pierce; 21; s.; moulder; corp.; m. o.
- Camden W. Smith, corp.; b. Darien, Ga.; 22; s.; hospital attendant; pris. B. B.; dis. Sept. 21, '62.
- Charles F. Southwick, p.; b. res. cr. Northbridge; 23; s.; machinist; corp.; dis. April 16, '62.
- Benjamin Taft, corp.; b. Webster; 20; s.; clerk; pris. B. B.; tr. Co. I Sept. 20, '61, as 1st sergt.; d. pris. Jan. 15, '65.
- Priestly Young, corp.; b. Schenectady, N. Y.; 42; m.; merchant.
- Frederick T. Maple, p.; s.; moulder; musician; reën. Dec. 25, '63; tr. Co. G, 20th; m. o.
- Frank Knight, wagoner; b. Leicester; m. i. Aug. 5, '61; 24; s.; teamster; dis. Jan. 31, '62.
- Henry S. Whittemore, p.; b. Roxbury; 40; m.; wagoner; teamster Jan. '64; master wagoner of brigade; reën. Jan. 1, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th; m. o.

PRIVATES.

- Elbridge Acker, b. Claremont, N. Y.; res. cr. Oxford; m. i. Aug. 11, '62; 31; s.; merchant; wd. foot Ant.; reën. Feb. 11, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th; pris. Aug. 25, '64; m. o. July 27, '65.
- Charles H. Adams, b. res. cr. Hopkinton; 19; s.; butcher; pris. B. B.; d. Feb. 27, '62.
- Warren H. Alger, b. Winchendon; 21; s.; mechanic; pris. B. B.; reën. Feb. 7, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th, as pris.; d. Aug. 14, '64, as pris.
- Charles W. Allen, b. res. cr. Hubbardston; 17; s.; teamster; m. o.
- Edward Anderson, b. Sutton; 23; s.; shoemaker; dis. Dec. 30, '62.
- Edwin F. Andrews, b. res. Millbury, cr. Worcester; m. i. Jan. 15, '62; 18; clerk; dis. Dec. 30, '62.
- William H. Andrews, b. Winchester; 21; s.; pattern-maker; pris. B. B.; dis. Feb. 16, '63.
- William D. Bell, b. Scotland, res. unknown, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. Aug. 23, '63; 30; sailor; tr. navy April 23, '64.
- Charles H. Bemis, b. Ashburnham; 21; m.; plough-maker; pris. B. B.; tr. Batt. I, 1st U. S. L. Art., Nov. 14, '62; m. o. July 12, '64.
- Henry N. Bemis, b. Ashburnham; m. i. July 24, '61; 24; s. farmer; pris. B. B.; tr. Batt. I, 1st U. S. L. Art.; m. o. July 12, '64.
- Thomas Bickford, b. North Belgrade, Me.; res. Waterville, Me.; 22; s.; brakeman; des. Aug. 1, '62.
- W. S. Bickford, b. unknown; m. i. March 1, '62; 27; m.; clerk; dis. Dec. 6, '62.
- Henry G. Bigelow, p.; b. res. cr. Paxton; 20; s.; clerk; sergt.-major Dec. 23, '61; 2d lieut. Oct. 28, '62, ass. Co. H; 1st lieut. Jan. 27, '63, ass. Co. C, April 9, '63; wd. thigh Ant.; re. Aug. 28, '63.
- Edwin Blake, 21; s.; hammersman; wd. abdomen F. O.; d. on passage home of wds.
- William M. Blodgett, b. Dorchester, N. H.; res. Hudson, N. H.; 24; m.; mechanic; k. F. O.
- Herbert Bond, b. Saccarrapa, Me.; res. cr. Grafton; 19; s.; boot-maker; dis. Aug. 23, '61.
- Charles P. Bonzey, b. Auburn, res. Millbury; 28; m.; carpenter; pris. B. B.; m. o.
- Lewis Brigham, b. Canada; m. i. Feb. 18, '62; 23; s.; blacksmith; dis. Feb. 3, '63.
- Mitchell Butterfield, b. Canada; m. i. Jan. 20, '62; 21; s.; shoemaker; reën. Jan. 22, '64; dropped as des. March 26, '64.
- Andrew Cadret, b. Canada, res. cr. West Boylston; m. i. Jan. 24, '62; 29; m.; shoemaker; pris. Ant.; des. May 1, '63.
- Peter C. Cain, b. Ireland, res. cr. Southbridge; m. i. Jan. 21, '62; 22; s.; mule-spinner; wd. left hand May '64; m. o. Jan. 20, '65.
- Clinton A. Chapman, b. New York, res. cr. Charlton; m. i. Feb. 4, '62; 28; s.; gunsmith; tr. Co. E, 20th; m. o. May 3, '65.
- Herbert L. Cheney, b. Holden, res. cr. Paxton; m. i. Nov. 26, '61; 18; s.; shoemaker; tr. Co. E, 20th; m. o. Dec. 12, '64.
- George G. Childs, 23; s.; carriage-maker; tr. Western Flotilla Feb. 17, '62.
- Charles W. Clifford, b. North Edgecomb, Me.; res. cr. Leicester; m. i. Aug. 4, '62; 42; m.; painter; dis. Dec. 1, '62.
- Andrew S. Cobb, b. Cornish, Me.; 24; s.; boot-maker; det. signal service; d. Aug. 12, '62.
- Harvey Conant, b. unknown, res. cr. West Boylston; m. i. Feb. 13, '62; 32; m.; mason; dis. Jan. 7, '63 as of Co. A.

- Barney Cooney, b. Ireland; m. i. March 14, '62; 21; s.; shoemaker; d. wds. Ant.
- Joseph Copeland, b. res. Corinna, Me.; cr. Lancaster; m. i. April 29, '64; 21; s.; laborer; pris. June 22, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th, as pris.; d. Oct. 17, '64, as pris.
- James B. Cromac, b. Concord, N. H.; 22; s.; boot-maker; tr. 19th M.V. Aug. 6, '61; dis. Sept. 27, '62, as Joseph B. Cromac.
- Stillman L. Cummings, b. Athol; 24; m.; carpenter; k. B. B.
- Charles H. Cutler, b. res. cr. Boston; m. i. March 21, '64; 18; s.; clerk; tr. Co. K, 20th, as musician; V.R.C. June 26, '65; m. o. July 26, '65.
- James D. Daniels, b. Virginia; 22. s.; machinist; pris. B. B.; wd. knee Gett.; m. o.
- Henry R. Dawson, b. England, res. cr. Leicester; 20; s.; wool-sorter; pris. B. B.; wd. May 6, '64; reën. Feb. 7, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th, as abs. wd; m. o.
- Charles L. Defose, b. Spencer; 20; s.; boot-maker; dis. Jan. 22, '63; reën. 57th Regt; 2d lieut. June 12, '65; m. o. July 30, '65.
- John H. Divoll, b. Crompton, R.I.; 33; m.; soap-maker; pris. B. B.; dis. Sept. 21, '62.
- John Donnelly, b. Ireland; res. cr. Millbury; m. i. Jan. 13, '62; 33; m.; jack-spinner; tr. Co. D, 20th, as ab. pris.; m. o. April 20, '65.
- William Douglas, b. Scotland, res. Haverhill, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. July 23, '63; 30; m.; sailor; tr. navy, April 23, '64.
- Oscar Downs, b. Woodbridge, Ct.; m. i. Aug. 20, '61; 37; m.; cabinet-maker; dis. Aug. 2, '62.
- Irvin Dunn, b. res. unknown, cr. Deerfield; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 25; s.; laborer; sentenced to labor, Dry Tortugas, March 31, '64.
- John H. Dunn, b. England, res. Cambridgeport, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. July 31, '63; 27; m.; book-keeper; des. April 11, '64.
- Edward O. Eames, b. res. cr. Upton; 20; s.; clerk; dis. Mar. 11, '63.
- Anthony Earle, 22; s.; carpenter; pris. B. B.; dis. Nov. 22, '62; reën. 61st Regt.; 2d lieut. Dec. 28, '64; 1st lieut. Dec. 30, '64; m. o. July 16, '65.
- Francis W. Eaton, res. East Cambridge; sub.; m. i. July 27, '63; 45; m.; tailor; wd. May 6, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th, as pris.; d. Sept. 29, '64, as pris.
- James Farrell, b. Ireland, res. unknown, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. July 31, '63; 26; s.; shoemaker; des. Oct. 1, '63.
- Eugene L. Fay, res. unknown; m. i. July 9, '62; 18; mechanic; dis. Jan. 9, '63.
- John Ferguson, b. England, res. unknown, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. July 30 '63; 23; s.; sailor; tr. navy April 23, '64.
- Thomas Ferguson, b. Ireland, res. San Francisco, Cal.; cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. Aug. 1, '63; 27; s.; waiter; des. Aug. 16, '63.
- William Finch, b. England, res. unknown, cr. Yarmouth; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 21; s.; laborer; d. March 24, '64.
- Ralph T. Finney, b. Boston; 25; m.; clerk; wd. thighs B. B.; m. o.
- George Fish, b. res. Canada West, cr. Douglas; m. i. April 29, '64; 20; s.; seaman; pris. June 22, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th; m. o. June 27, '65.
- William Fisher, b. Prussia, res. Philadelphia, Pa.; cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. Aug. 1, '63; 21; s.; mechanic; des. Aug. 7, '63.
- Francis W. Fisk, b. Ireland, res. Belchertown; sub.; m. i. July 27, '63; 24; s.; shoemaker; wd. back May 6, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th, as ab. wd.; m. o.
- Charles M. Fitch, b. Charlestown; 20; s.; butcher; reën. Feb. 4, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th, as ab. sick; m. o. June 30, '65.
- James Foley, b. Ireland, res. West Springfield, cr. Granby; sub.; m. i. July 28, '63; 40; m.; shoemaker; tr. Co. E, 20th; dis. Oct. 22, '64.

- John Frederic, b. Germany, res. New York, cr. Attleboro; sub.; m. i. Aug. 5, '63; 35; m.; blacksmith; wd. leg Oct. 14, '63; dis. May 24, '64.
- Joseph Freeman, b. Nova Scotia, res. unknown; sub.; m. i. July 28, '63; 21; s.; farmer; d. Nov. 22, '63.
- James Fry, b. Ireland, res. Albany, N. Y.; cr. Easthampton; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 22; s.; printer; pris. June 22, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th, as ab.; m. o. July 27, '65.
- Henry J. Fuller, b. Warwick; res. Oakham; 18; s.; wire-drawer; pris. B. B.; dis. Jan. 22, '63.
- Orlando H. Fuller, b. Athens, Vt.; res. cr. Derby, Vt.; 22; s.; clerk; dis. May 11, '63.
- Lyman W. Gilbert, b. res. cr. West Brookfield; 26; s. farmer; dis. April 16, '62.
- William S. Gilman, b. Marietta, Ohio; 22; s.; medical student; wd. hand '62; V.R.C. Jan. 15, '64.
- John L. Givan, b. Canada, res. unknown, cr. Nantucket; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 30; s.; carpenter; tr. Co. G, 20th, as ab. sick; d. Oct. 6, '64, as pris.
- Charles A. Gleason, b. res. cr. Leicester; 24; s.; leather-dresser; pris. Ant.; d. Nov. 8, '64, as pris.
- Milan Gleason, b. Rutland, Vt.; 23; carpenter; wd. arm B. B.; dis. July 7, '63.
- Charles H. Goff, b. Mendon; res. cr. Leicester; 25; s.; wool-spinner; k. B. B.
- Charles O. Goodnow, b. res. cr. Paxton; 22; s.; clerk; wd. hand June 29, '62; des. Sept. 2, '62.
- Wilbur Goodrich, b. res. cr. Greenfield; sub.; m. i. July 29, '63; 23; s.; teamster; des. Aug. 11, '63.
- Alfred M. Goodwin, b. Deerfield, N. H.; res. cr. Amesbury; sub.; m. i. July 10, '63; 28; s.; laborer; tr. Co. G, 20th; pris. July 29, '64; d. Sept. 1, '64.
- Herman G. Goudig, b. res. Prussia, cr. Dorchester; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 36; s.; currier; wd. May '64; tr. Co. G, 20th, as ab. sick; m. o.
- Edwin Goulding, m. i. Feb. 6, '62; 18; s.; shuttle-maker; wd. back Gett.; reën, Feb. 15, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th; m. o.
- Charles A. Green, b. Franklin, Ct.; m. i. July 24, '62; 33; pris. June 22, '64; m. o. March 25, '65.
- Levi C. Greenleaf, 26; s.; clerk; tr. to Non-Com. Staff as com.-sergt. before Dec. 8, '63; tr. V.R.C. March 15, '64; m. o.
- John Grey, b. St. Johnsbury, Vt.; res. New Jersey, cr. Taunton; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 22; s.; bar-tender; dis. April 18, '64.
- Gusippa Griffo, b. Italy, res. unknown, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. July 16, '63; 32; s.; iron-keeper; pris. Nov. 27, '63.
- Richard L. Hannant, b. Vermont; m. i. Jan. 20, '62; 31; m.; mechanic; wd. arm F. O.; dis. Nov. 12, '62.
- Eben Harris, b. Cooperstown, N. Y.; 33; m.; weaver; dis. March 14, '62.
- Charles Head, b. Waltham; 22; s.; wire-drawer; wd. Ant.; dis. Oct. 27, '62.
- Harlan Henry, b. res. Rutland; 24; s.; wire-maker; pris. B. B.; dis. Dec. 19, '62.
- Charles M. Hersey, b. Spencer, res. cr. Southbridge; 21; s.; butcher; dis. May 16, '64.
- James Holmes, b. res. cr. Paxton; 18; s.; boot-maker; dis. Nov. 12, '62.
- Michael Holligan, b. Ireland; m. i. July 17, '62; 25; laborer; wd. thigh May '64; tr. 20th; des. June 30, '64.

- Benjamin D. House, b. Vermont; 20; s.; clerk, student; wd. jaw F. O.; dis. Sept. 19, '62.
- Hollis H. Howe, b. res. cr. Paxton; m. i. Dec. 10, '61; 43; m.; boot-maker; d. May 4, '62.
- D. L. Jennison, b. res. cr. Auburn; m. i. July 30, '61; 21; s.; shoemaker; pris. B. B.; m. o.
- Andrew S. Knight, b. res. cr. Charlton; m. i. Aug. 13, '62; 24; shoemaker; wd. leg, head Ant.; tr. V.R.C. Jan. 22, '64; m. o.
- Hiram Laffin. Name given in Co. D record, Mass. Vols. No such name in company books. See unassigned recruits.
- Charles H. Lamb, b. Dudley, res. cr. Oxford; 24; m.; mechanic; det. Batt. I, 1st U. S. L. Art. July 15, '62; wd. May '64; reën. Feb. 4, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th, as ab. wd.; m. o. July 15, '65.
- Jeremiah B. Lamb, b. Phillipston; m. i. Dec. 2, '61; 32; m.; butcher; dis. April 22, '63.
- Edson T. Leland, b. Barton, Vt.; 21; s.; wheelwright; d. Sept. 12, '62.
- Charles P. Mansfield, b. Suffield, res. cr. Westboro; m. i. March 11, '62; 18; s.; farmer; d. June 18, '62.
- Silas D. Marsh, b. res. cr. Hardwick; 26; s.; maker of woodenware; wd. breast, d. Ant.
- Peter McKeon (McCune), b. Ireland; m. i. Jan. 31, '62; 21; s.; shoemaker; pris. Ant.; dis. March 21, '63.
- John McDonald, b. Ireland; m. i. March 8, '62; 22; s.; farmer; wd. leg and shoulder Nov. 27, '62; tr. 20th; m. o.
- Albert Megan, b. Bangor, Me.; res. cr. West Boylston; m. i. Jan. 20, '62; 21; s.; lumberman; wd. right thigh May '64; d. July 28, '64.
- Frank H. Merrifield, res. Holden; m. i. March 5, '62; 20; s.; carpenter; wd. scalp and arm, Oct. 14, '63; reën. March 29, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th, as ab. sick; m. o.
- Walton M. Mirick, b. Paxton; 25; s.; farmer; wd. arm Ant.; dis. Jan. 21, '63.
- John Morey, b. Oxford; m. i. July 15, '62; 41; shoemaker; tr. 15th Batt.; m. o. Aug. 1, '64.
- George B. Newcomb, b. res. Ashland, cr. Marlboro; m. i. March 22, '64; 21; s.; shoemaker; tr. Co. G, 20th, as ab. sick; d. Aug. 27, '64, pris.
- Oliver W. Newton, b. Danvers; m. i. Feb. 6, '62; 18; farmer; pris. Ant.; reën. Feb. 7, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th, as ab. sick; dis. July 5, '65.
- Charles H. Nichols, b. unknown, res. Ossipee, N. H.; cr. New Marlboro; m. i. April 13, '64; 21; s.; farmer; d. July 2, '64.
- Francis H. Noyes, b. Needham; m. i. July 24, '62; 29; wire-roller; d. wd. Ant.
- Willis H. Odlin, b. Madison, Me.; res. Benton, Me.; 20; s.; wheelwright; m. o.
- Leander J. Owen, b. Ashford, Ct.; m. i. Jan. 20, '62; 27; m.; factory overseer; k. Ant.
- George Parsons, b. Sutton; m. i. March 14, '62; 34; s.; bootmaker; dis. Dec. 20, '62; d. Jan. 8, '63, at hospital, Alexandria.
- George W. Pasco, b. Thorndike, res. cr. Palmer; m. i. Dec. 9, '61; 19; s.; card-spinner; dis. Dec. 17, '62.
- James F. Peacock, b. England; 21; s.; farmer; dis. Nov. 22, '62; reën. 57th Regt. 2d lieut. April 9, '64; m. o. May 25, '65.
- Edward L. Pierce, b. unknown; 23; s.; moulder; not accepted.
- E. W. Pierce, b. Northboro; 19; s.; mechanic; dis. Oct. 9, '62; reën. Co. G, 34th Regt., Jan. 5, '64; d. wds. Dec. 26, '64.
- George O. Pierce, b. res. cr. Paxton; 20; s.; clerk; d. Aug. 1, '62.

- Frank Pollinger, b. Germany; m. i. Feb. 20, '62; 34; m.; cigar-maker; dis. Sept. 19, '62.
- George S. Putnam, 18; s.; sailor; tr. Western Flotilla Feb. 17, '62.
- Patrick Ratigan, b. Ireland; m. i. Jan. 25, '62; 25; m.; laborer; reën. Feb. 7, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th; m. o.
- A. J. Rawson, b. East Douglas, res. cr. Millbury; 18; s.; bootmaker; dis. Oct. 28, '62.
- Melville R. Rowe, b. unknown, res. cr. West Boylston; m. i. Feb. 17, '62; 23; s.; bootmaker; tr. Co. K, 20th; m. o. March 7, '65. Name not on company books. Is it Melvin B. Rowe, Co. E?
- Alonzo Sabin, b. Southbridge, res. cr. Millbury; 25; s.; carriage-maker; tr. Co. I April 2, '62; m. o.
- David B. Seaver, b. Mendon, res. cr. Millbury; 24; s.; mechanic; wd. arm B. B.; wd. June 29, '62; des. Aug. 5, '62.
- William L. Sholes, b. Canterbury, Ct.; res. cr. Webster; m. i. Aug. 6, '62; 22; m.; shoemaker; k. Ant.
- Augustus Sibley, b. res. cr. Grafton; m. i. Aug. 7, '61; 25; teamster; dis. May 1, '62.
- Samuel Slater, b. England; m. i. July 10, '62; 20; s.; operative; wd. hand May '64; m. o. G. O. 28.
- Alfred F. Smith, b. Northampton; 19; s.; clerk; pris. B.B.; W. D. clerk; m. o.
- Eli L. Smith, b. Ludlow; m. i. July 24, '62; 34; wire drawer; pris. Ant.; dis. Jan. 10, '63.
- John W. Smith, b. Rockland, Me.; 22; s.; clerk; k. B. B.
- John W. Southland, b. Mendon, res. cr. Milford; m. i. Jan. 30, '62; 24; m.; bootmaker; wd. head, heel Ant.; tr. V.R.C. Jan. 15, '64; dis. Feb. 24, '64.
- Amos Sprague, b. New Bedford; 22; s.; shoemaker; dis. April 15, '62.
- John F. Stafford, b. Charlestown; 19; s.; wood-worker; k. B. B.
- Orman Stevens, b. Charlton, Me.; res. cr. Charlton; m. i. July 27, '62; m.; painter; k. Gett.
- Charles H. Stiles, b. unknown; m. i. Aug. 6, '62; 22; k. Ant. Name appears in Mass. Volunteers, but no such name on company books.
- Dwight Stockwell, b. Leverett, res. cr. Spencer; m. i. Feb. 4, '62; 23; s.; wire-drawer; wd. thigh Ant.; tr. V.R.C. Oct. 26, '63; m. o. Feb. 4, '65.
- Josiah Stone, b. Saco, Me.; res. cr. Boston; m. i. March 31, '64; 39; m.; carpenter; tr. Co. E, 20th, as ab. sick; m. o.
- George M. Sylvester, b. South Hingham; 19; s.; mason; dis. Oct. 2, '62.
- James Taylor, b. Providence, R. I.; 22; s.; machinist; pris. B. B.; dis. Dec. 30, '62.
- George H. Thompson, b. Wrentham, res. cr. Blackstone; m. i. Feb. 25, '62; 29; m.; farmer; k. Ant.
- J. B. Thompson, b. Hardwick; 28; m.; sawyer; pris. B. B; wd. shoulder May '64; m. o.
- Christopher Train, b. Germany; m. i. July 26, '62; 39; wire-drawer; wd. knee Gett.; V.R.C. March 15, '64; m. o. July 12, '65.
- Melville Walker, b. Hopkinton; m. i. Dec. 2, '62; 37; m.; clicker; wd. foot Ant.; d. Sept. 27, '62.
- Henry C. Ward, m. i. July 31, '61; 18; s.; carriage-trimmer; sergt.-major Nov. 1, '62; 2d lieut. March 14, '63, ass. Co. F; tr. to Co. I, April 15, '63; wd. hip B. B., hand Ant.; re. Sept. 4, '63; 1st lieut. 57th regt., March 9, '64; capt. July 31, '64; m. o. June 30, '65. Since war 2d lieut., 1st lieut. and capt. U. S. A.
- Henry A. Waters, b. res. cr. Millbury; 21; s.; cabinet-maker; dis. Nov. 22, '62.

- Herman B. Weixler, b. Germany; 25; m.; actor; pris. B. B.; dis. Nov. 26, '62.
 James E. White, b. res. cr. Grafton; 22; s.; carpenter; pris. B. B.; des. March 30, '63.
 Oliver L. White, b. Lagrange, Me.; res. cr. West Boylston; m. i. Feb. 19, '62; 22; s.; boot-maker; wd. ankle; tr. V.R.C. Aug. 8, '63; m. o. close of war.. Name not on Company books.
 Albert C. Willard, b. res. cr. Charlton; 24; s.; carriage-maker; dis. Jan. 6, '64.
 Charles W. Wood, b. Hardwick; m. i. July 23, '62; 18; finisher; pris. June 22, '64; m. o. May 22, '65.
 Dwight B. Woods, b. Leicester; 19; s.; blacksmith; m. o.
 Aaron P. Young, b. Southbridge, res. cr. Webster; 19; s.; student; dis. Dec. 9, '62.

COMPANY E.

The members of this company were natives and citizens of Oxford and were credited on the quota of that town unless it is otherwise stated in each particular. For the history of this company before the date of muster, see pages 24-25.

- Charles H. Watson, capt.; b. New Braintree; 36; s.; shoemaker; wd. side June 27, '62; re. Jan. 21, '63; 2d lieutenant. 1st Batt. H. A. Aug. 16, '64; m. o. June 28, '65.
 Albert Prince, sergt.; 22; m.; shoe-cutter; 1st sergt. Sept. 12, '61; 2d lieutenant. Feb. 22, '62 (see Co. G); 1st lieutenant. Sept. 18, '62 (see Co. G); acting adjt.; capt. Co. E Feb. 21, '63; wd. leg B. B.; White Oak Swamp; Ant.; hands, Gett.; Spottsylvania; m. o.
 Nelson Bartholomew, 1st lieutenant; b. Hardwick; 26; s.; lawyer; d. Nov. 22, '61.
 George W. Brown. See Co. A. 2d lieutenant. Co. E April 10, '63; 1st lieutenant. Co. E July 13-Oct. 22, '63.
 Daniel W. Knight. See Co. F. 1st lieutenant. com. Co. E April '64.
 James May. See Co. B. 2d lieutenant; 1st lieutenant. Co. E; tr. to Co. B Dec. 9, '63.
 Thomas J. Spurr. See Co. G. 1st lieutenant. Co. E Jan. 1-April 29, '62.
 William R. Steele. See Staff Officers. 1st lieutenant. Co. E, ass. Dec. 9, '63.
 William B. Storer. See Staff Officers. 1st lieutenant, ass. Co. E May 11, '62.
 Bernard B. Vassall, 2d lieutenant; 25; s.; clerk; pris. B. B.; 1st lieutenant. Aug. 11, '62, declined com.; re. Oct. 31, '62.
 Peleg F. Murray, sergt.; b. Nova Scotia; 23; s.; carpenter; 1st sergt. March 1, '62; dis. Nov. 18, '62.
 John E. (M.) Norcross, corp.; b. Shrewsbury, res. Sutton; 36; s.; shoemaker; sergt. June 1, '62; 1st sergt. Nov. 8, '62; 2d lieutenant. March 1, '63, ass. Co. C April 9, '63; pris. B. B.; re. Sept. 6, '63.
 Luther C. Torrey, 1st sergt.; b. Woodstock, Ct.; 37; m.; painter; gave up warrant Sept. 13, '61, voluntarily; k. F. O.
 George B. Works, sergt.; b. Dudley; 22; s.; shoemaker; 1st sergt. March 31, '63; m. o.
 Charles A. Bacon, corp.; 20; s.; shoe-cutter; sergt. March 1, '62; dis. May 22, '62.

Henry J. Ball, p.; b. Dudley, res. cr. Charlton; 20; s.; shoemaker; corp. March 1, '62; sergt. Nov. 15, '63; wd. back F. O.; wd. face Ant.; wd. (Spottsylvania) May '64; m. o.

George H. Carr, p.; b. Leicester, res. cr. Worcester; 21; s.; machinist; corp. Feb. '62; sergt. March 1, '62; dis. May 27, '63.

Otis Coburn, p.; 22; s.; shoemaker; sergt. March 6, '63; pris. B. B.; det. Batt. A, R. I. Art. Oct. 22, '63; reën. Jan. 4, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th, as pris.; m. o. June 12, '65, as pris.

James Comrie, p.; b. Scotland, res. cr. Worcester; 21; s.; boiler-maker; corp. June 15, '62; sergt. Sept. 18, '62; wd. leg Ant.; wd. Gett.; pris. Nov. 27, '63; m. o. as pris.

Edward Cudworth, p.; 18; s.; farmer; corp. June 15, '62; sergt. March 1, '63; wd. Ant.; wd. May 6, '64; reën. Dec. 25, '63; tr. Co. E, 20th; pris. Aug. 25, '64; m. o.

Henry W. Harold, sergt.; b. England; 32; s.; soldier; bugler March 1, '62; dis. Dec. 19, '62.

Loren C. Hoyle, p.; b. Killingly, Ct.; res. cr. Sutton; 30; m.; shoemaker; corp.; sergt. June 1, '62; dis. May 27, '63.

Charles McFarland, p.; b. unknown, res. cr. Salem; m. i. Feb. 18, '62; 26; m.; operative; corp. July 1, '62; sergt. May 1, '64; wd. Gett.; tr. Co. K, 20th; m. o. Feb. 18, '65. See Co. A.

Amos H. Shumway, corp.; 21; s.; shoemaker; sergt. Oct. 12, '61; k. Ant. John A. Thurston, p.; b. Windsor; 18; s.; operative; sergt. Nov. 8, '62; pris. June 22, '64; m. o. May 22, '65.

Andrew B. Yeomans, p.; b. Webster; 25; s.; painter; corp. July '63; sergt. May 1, '64; pris. June 30, '62; pris. June 22, '64, but escaped and rej. Co. Aug. 11, '64; m. o. Aug. 24, '64.

Pliny Allen, corp.; b. Charlton; 31; s.; shoemaker; wd. fingers F. O.; dis. Nov. 19, '62.

Simon Carson, p.; b. Ireland; 27; s.; finisher; corp. March 1, '62; wd. Ant.; dis. May 14, '63.

Joseph E. Fellows, p.; b. Bridgewater, N. H.; 23; s.; shoemaker; corp. May 1, '63; pris. B. B.; reën. Dec. 25, '63; pris. June 22, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th, as pris.; d. March 29, '65, as pris.

Horace P. Howe, p.; b. Manchester, N. H.; 21; s.; hostler; corp. June 1, '62; wd. leg Ant.; dis. Nov. 27, '63.

William F. Miller, p.; b. Worcester, res. cr. Southbridge; 18; s.; harness-maker; corp. May 1, '63; m. o.

Patrick Moore, p.; b. Ireland, res. cr. Millbury; 19; s.; weaver; corp. before B. B.; pris. wd. B. B.; m. o.

Anthony Murphy, p.; b. Ireland; 20; s.; spinner; corp. May 1, '63; wd. shoulder Gett.; dis. April 28, '64.

John Toomey, p.; b. Ireland; 21; s.; shoemaker; corp. April 23, '62; k. F. O.

Nathaniel A. Viall, p.; b. Manchester, Vt.; 23; s.; shoemaker; corp. Oct. 12, '61; pris. wd. arm B. B.; dis. Nov. 8, '62.

Alonzo V. Walker, p.; res. cr. Northbridge; 22; s.; shoemaker; corp. June 15, '62; dis. Nov. 25, '62.

George S. Williams, p.; b. Holliston, res. cr. Auburn; 23; s.; farmer; corp. Nov. 1, '63; reën. Jan. 15, '64; k. May 13, '64.

Joseph H. Williams, p.; b. Worcester; 22; s.; shoemaker; corp. Sept. 20, '61; pris. wd. ankle, groin B. B.; dis. Nov. 8, '62.

David Craig, drummer. See Co. I.

Elias B. Ellis, p.; b. Berlin, Ct.; res. cr. Kensington, Ct.; m. i. Oct. 11, '61; 18; s.; farmer; pris. June 29, '62; reën. Dec. 25, '63, as of North Brookfield; musician; wd. May 6, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th, as on det. serv.; m. o. Aug. 30, '65.

Oscar L. Guild, musician; 19; s.; shoemaker; tr. V.R.C. March 7, '64; m. o. Nov. 18, '65.

William H. Smith, musician; b. res. cr. Southbridge; 31; s.; shoemaker; des. Aug. 9, '61.

Charles Sutton, wagoner; b. res. cr. Worcester; 22; s.; engineer; m. o.

PRIVATES.

George W. Albee, b. res. cr. Charlton; 19; s.; shoemaker; wd. wrist F. O.; dis. Oct. 21, '62.

William H. Amidon, b. Dudley, res. cr. Charlton; 30; s.; bit-maker; pris. B. B.; dis. Jan. 9, '63.

Conrad Amptaeur (Conrad M. Tower), b. Germany; 28; s.; operative; k. Ant.

Emory F. Bailey, b. res. cr. Sturbridge; m. i. Dec. 9, '61; 22; s.; farmer; pris. Dec. 13, '62; paroled; no further record.

Henry A. Baker, b. Lowell, res. Gilmanton, N. H.; cr. Harvard; m. i. March 30, '64; 18; s.; farmer; tr. Co. E, 20th, as m. in a.; pris. Aug. 25, '64; m. o. as pris.

Charles E. Barnard, b. res. cr. Auburn; 19; s.; shoemaker; dis. Nov. 24, '62; reën. Co. F, 57th, Feb. 18, '64, as 1st sergt.; 2d lieut. June 12, '65; m. o. July 30, '65.

Charles H. Beattie, b. res. cr. Dudley; m. i. Dec. 5, '61; 24; s.; farmer; dis. April 28, '64.

Henry L. Berry, b. Douglas, res. cr. Worcester; 21; s.; sailor; tr. Western Flotilla, Feb. 17, '62; dis. May 14, '63.

Edwin Booth, b. Ireland, res. cr. Fitchburg; m. i. Dec. 31, '61; 27; m.; farmer; wd. foot '64; tr. 20th; dis. Dec. 31, '64.

Matthew Brennan, b. Ireland; 20; m.; mechanic; wd. leg Ant.; dis. Feb. 9, '63.

Patrick Brennan, b. Ireland; 34; s.; spinner; dis. Dec. 17, '62.

Horace C. Brown, b. res. cr. Grafton; 25; s. farmer; dis. Jan. 16, '63.

Richard W. Cheney, b. res. cr. Southbridge; 24; s.; machinist; dis. Oct. 24, '62.

Samuel A. Clark, b. Topsfield; m. i. July 31, '62; 39; m.; shoemaker; dis. Feb. 4, '63.

James C. Clifford, b. England, m. i. May 24, '64; 20; s.; operative; pris. June 22, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th, as m. in a.; m. o. June 30, '65, as pris.

Daniel Cobb, b. Ireland; 19; s.; spinner; pris. B. B.; m. o.

Thomas Conroy, b. Lynn, res. cr. Sutton; 21; s.; shoemaker; pris. B. B.; exchanged; no further record.

William Conroy, b. Lynn, res. cr. Marlboro; 20; s.; shoemaker; pris. B. B.; dis. Nov. 22, '62; drafted and ass. 32d Regt., July 24, '63; m. in a. May 12, '64.

George W. Cross, b. East Hanover, N. H.; res. unknown; m. i. Feb. 15, '62; 21; farmer; k. Gett. See Co. G.

Timothy J. Crowley, b. Ireland, res. cr. Worcester; m. i. Dec. 11, '61; 37; m.; laborer; dis. March 18, '63.

John H. Curran, b. Ireland, res. cr. Worcester; m. i. July 31, '62; 23; m.; laborer; k. Ant.

- Alfred W. Davis, b. Newmarket, N. H.; res. cr. Leicester; m. i. Aug. 6, '62; 28; m.; gun-maker; wd. mouth Ant.; d. Sept. 22, '62.
- Freeman Davis, b. Newmarket, N. H.; res. cr. Spencer; 19; s.; boot-maker; wd. side B. B.; dis. May 14, '63; reën. Co. F, 57th; corp.; k. May 6, '64.
- George P. Davis, b. Durham, N. H.; res. cr. Charlton; 29; s.; bit-maker; pris. B. B.; reën. Jan. 4, '64; pris. May 6, '64; reported d. pris., also as k. May 8, in Wilderness; tr. Co. E, 20th, as pris.
- George W. Davis, b. Oakham, res. cr. Hardwick; m. i. Aug. 5, '62; 18; s.; farmer; wd. side Ant.; m. o.
- James H. Davis, b. England; m. i. Aug. 6, '62; 32; m.; dresser; k. Ant.
- James L. Davis, b. Auburn, res. Spencer, cr. Oxford; m. i. Feb. 11, '62; 18; s.; bootmaker; pris. June 22, '64; reën. Feb. 22, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th; m. o. June 21, '65.
- William M. Davis, b. Newmarket, N. H.; res. cr. Leicester; 23; s.; shoemaker; pris. B. B.; d. March 10, '62.
- Thomas F. Dockham, b. Guilford, N.H.; res. cr. Charlton; 20; s.; farmer; pris. B. B.; dis. Dec. 20, '62.
- Cyrus J. Dodd, b. Paxton, res. cr. Worcester; 22; m.; mechanic; wd. head Ant.; m. o.
- Horatio C. Dodge, b. Southbridge; m. i. March 11, '62; 18; s.; farmer; m. in a. June 30, '62; tr. 20th, as on det. ser. at Fort Schuyler, N. Y.
- Daniel Donahue, b. res. New Brunswick, cr. Harvard; sub.; m. i. March 28, '64; 21; m.; laborer; tr. Co. E, 20th, as ab. sick; m. o. as ab. sick.
- Caleb F. Dudley, b. Sutton; 31; m.; shoemaker; det. and wd. Chantilly; dis. Nov. 22, '62.
- James Duffy, b. Ireland; 19; m.; weaver; pris. B. B.; exchanged; no further record.
- Frank Dupré, b. Canada; 23; s.; shoemaker; det. Gen. Sedgwick's guard April 9, '62; m. o.
- Frank Eaton, b. res. cr. Worcester; 19; s.; machinist; wd. leg Ant.; dis. March 19, '63.
- John Eckersley, b. England; 25; s.; weaver; pris. B. B.; dis. Oct. 21, '63.
- William H. Emerson, b. res. cr. Auburn; 29; s.; farmer; pris. B. B.; dis. Dec. 10, '62.
- Edward Ennis, b. res. cr. Millbury; 31; s.; gardener; w. arm Ant.; tr. V.R.C. June '63; rej. Co. Feb. 25, '64; pris. June 22, '64; m. o. as paroled pris.
- George W. Faulkner, b. res. cr. Southbridge; m. i. Dec. 21, '61; 31; s.; baker; tr. non-com. staff, Oct. 22, '63, as com. sergt.; tr. 20th; m. o. Sept. 7, '64.
- Patrick Feighan, b. Ireland; 18; s.; shoemaker; pris. and wd. head B.B.; dis. Sept. 27, '62.
- John Fitzpatrick, b. Dudley, res. cr. Worcester; m. i. March 23, '64; 21; m.; shoemaker; pris. June 22, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th, as pris.; m. o. June 28, '65.
- Michael Flynn, b. Ireland, res. cr. Worcester; 20; s.; wire-drawer; wd. B. B and F. O.; det. R. I. Batt. before April 30, '63; k. Gett.
- Herbert N. Fuller, b. cr. Wilbraham, res. Charlton; m. i. Feb. 24, '62; 21; m.; yeoman; wd. lip Ant.; reën. Feb. 26, '64; pris. June 22, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th, as pris.; d. Feb. 20, '65, as pris.
- William Gannett (Garnett), b. res. Cohasset, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. July 24, '63; 24; s.; stone-cutter; pris. June 22, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th, as pris.; d. Oct. 6, '64, as pris.

- Bartholomew Green, b. Barre, res. cr. Worcester; m. i. July 24, '62; 42; shoemaker; dis. Feb. 27, '63; d. July 11, '64.
- Josiah M. Green, b. Holden; 19; s.; operative; reën. Batt. I, 1st U. S. L. Art. Nov. 12, '62; m. o.
- John Grob, b. Switzerland, res. unknown, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. Aug. 1, '63; pris. May 18, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th, as pris.; d. Sept. 9, '64, as pris.
- George W. Gunston, b. England; 24; m.; operative; pris. Dec. 13, '62; m. o.
- Thomas Haggerty, b. Ireland, res. unknown, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. Aug. 1, '63; 31; harness-maker; des. Sept. 29, '63.
- Frederick A. Hall, b. Sutton, res. cr. Millbury; 43; m.; farmer; wd. arm, head Ant.; dis. Feb. 5, '63.
- Peter Hansen, b. res. Denmark, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. July 21, '63; 24; sailor; tr. navy April 23, '64.
- James J. Hardman, b. Ireland, res. unknown, cr. Gloucester; sub.; m. i. Aug. 5, '63; 24; laborer; des. Oct. 14, '63.
- Michael Harris, b. Hartford, Ct.; res. New York City, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. July 22, '63; 22; printer; never reported.
- John Hart, b. Ireland, res. cr. Dorchester; sub.; m. i. Aug. 1, '63; 22; s.; sailor; tr. 20th, as ab. sick; no further record.
- Rudolph Hase, b. Germany, res. unknown, cr. Worcester; sub.; m. i. July 25, '63; 27; s.; soldier; des. Oct. 15, '63.
- Joseph E. Haskell, b. Springfield; m. i. Feb. 20, '62; 31; m.; operative; wd. arm Ant.; dis. March 27, '63.
- Edward Hill, b. Ireland, res. unknown, cr. Beverly; sub.; m. i. Aug. 4, '63; 21; s.; shoemaker; real name was McGriel; des. Oct. 24, '63, captured by enemy; enlisted in rebel army; des., captured and tried for des. in Union army.
- James Hilton, b. England; 21; s.; weaver; k. B. B.
- Henry Hoolan, b. Ireland, res. cr. Worcester; sub.; m. i. July 24, '63; 25; s.; sailor; des. Oct. 15, '63.
- William Hoy (Hogg), b. res. Springfield, cr. Athol; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 21; s.; clerk; never reported to Co.
- Henry Hoyle, b. Webster, res. cr. Grafton; 18; s.; farmer; wd. June 30, '62; wd. arm July 1, '62; dis. Feb. 9, '63; reën. V. R. C. Aug. 25, '64; dis. V.R.C. Jan. 13, '65.
- Otis E. Hoyle, b. Warwick, R. I.; res. cr. Sutton; 24; s.; farmer; pris. June 16, '63; m. o.
- Charles Hubbard, b. Philadelphia, Penn.; res. Hartford, Ct.; cr. Fal-mouth; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 21; s.; seaman; dis. Dec. 19, '63.
- Archibald B. Hudson, b. Ellisburg, N. Y.; res. Worcester, cr. Grafton; m. i. Aug. 7, '62; 37; m.; farmer; pris. May 6, '64; reën. Feb. 27, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th, as pris.; m. o. July 24, '65, as pris.
- John W. Humphrey, m. i. Aug. 7, '62; 18; s.; shoemaker; wd. arm. Ant.; dis. Jan. 7, '63.
- Louis Jaquier, b. Switzerland, res. unknown, cr. Athol; sub.; m. i. July 22, '63; 27; s.; cook; m. in a. Nov. 27, '63; tr. 20th, as ab. sick; no further record.
- Hendrick Jarveson (Jameson, Jirvenson), b. Germany, res. Salem, cr. Berlin; sub.; m. i. July 31, '63; 29; sailor; wd. Oct. 14, '63; des. March 27, '64.
- Joseph Jennison, Jr., b. Auburn; 41; m.; farmer; k. B. B.
- Peter Johnson, b. Ireland, res. cr. Amherst; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 21; s.; sailor; wd. hand Ant.; tr. navy April 23, '64.
- Charles A. Jones. See Co. C.

- Charles Jones, b. Boston, res. unknown, cr. Abington; sub.; m. i. July 31, '63; 41; m.; seaman; dis. Jan. 7, '64.
- James Kemble, b. res. Canada, cr. Bernardston; sub.; m. i. July 27, '63; 21; s.; clerk; des. Aug. 21, '63.
- Thomas King, b. Millbury; 31; m.; shoemaker; wd. back Gett.; m. o. as ab. sick.
- Patrick D. Kinney, b. Ireland, res. cr. Auburn; 20; s.; painter; dis. Jan. 28, '62.
- Frank L. Kirby, b. Spencer; 18; s.; shoemaker; wd. Ant.; wd. hand May '64; m. o.
- Leander T. Kirby, b. Spencer; 20; s.; shoemaker; wd. Ant.; pris. wd. Nov. 27, '63; m. o.
- Henry Konch (Koch), b. Germany, res. unknown, cr. Abington; sub.; m. i. Aug. 5, '63; 28; s.; clerk; k. May 31, '64.
- Cyrus Larned, res. unknown, cr. Worcester; m. i. July 31, '62; 18; shoemaker; s.; d. Sept. 2, '62.
- Joel W. Larned, res. unknown, cr. Worcester; m. i. July 23, '62; 21; shoemaker; s.; m. o.
- Edward Lovely, b. Canada; 18; s.; shoemaker; wd. Dec. 13, '62; tr. V. R.C. July 1, '63; reën. V.R.C. April 11, '64; dis. Nov. 15, '65.
- Peter Luck. See Co. A.
- Robert Lusty, b. res. Palmer; m. i. Dec. 9, '61; 18; s.; operative; wd. back Ant.; wd. leg Gett.; dis. Feb. 10, '64.
- Mac (Mike) Lynch, b. Ireland, cr. unknown; 29; s.; laborer; dis. Feb. 28, '63.
- John B. Marcy, b. Webster, res. cr. Charlton; 18; s.; shoemaker; wd. Ant., Gett.; m. o.
- Owen McCann, b. Ireland, res. cr. Auburn; 20; s.; carder; wd. head Ant.; reën. Batt. I, 1st U. S. L. Art., Nov. 12, '62; no further record.
- Orlando McIntire, b. res. cr. Mendon; 29; m.; bootmaker; pris. B. B.; reën. Feb. 5, '64; pris. June 22, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th, as pris; m. o.
- Elliot F. McKinstry, b. res. cr. Southbridge; 24; s.; farmer; pris. B. B.; wd. hand Ant.; tr. V.R.C. before June '63; m. o. July 15, '64.
- Albert S. Moffit, cr. unknown; 20; s.; shoemaker; pris. wd. ankle B. B.; dis. Oct. 1, '62.
- Charles E. Morse, b. res. cr. Charlton; 22; s.; farmer; dis. April 25, '62.
- Timothy J. Moynahan, b. Ireland; 26; s.; spinner; pris. B. B.; m. o. Jan. 9, '63, as paroled pris.
- George H. Nicholas, b. res. cr. Sutton; m. i. Nov. 26, '61; 19; s.; shoemaker; dis. April 15, '62.
- Lyman Phipps, b. Hopkinton; 24; s.; shoemaker; pris. wd. B. B.; d. Dec. 2, '61.
- Francis C. Pope, b. Southbridge; 26; m.; shoemaker; wd. head June 3, '64; reën. Feb. 22, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th, as ab. wd.; d. Feb. 15, '65.
- Bradley Reed, m. i. Dec. 17, '61; 43; m.; laborer; dis. Oct. 26, '62; reën. Co. D, 59th Regt., Feb. 9, '64; tr. to 57th Regt. Jan. 5, '65; m. o. July 30, '65.
- Edwin E. Rindge, b. Southbridge; 26; m.; shoemaker; wd. knee Ant.; d. Oct. 24, '62, or Oct. 18, '62 (headstone).
- Vernon F. Rindge, b. Southbridge; 23; m.; shoemaker; pris. B. B.; dis. Nov. 25, '62; d. Feb. 24, '63, disease incurred in service.
- Wilson B. Robbins, b. res. cr. Upton; m. i. Dec. 5, '61; 42; m.; farmer; dis. April 23, '62.
- William Ronan, b. Ireland; 24; s.; shoemaker; m. o.
- Melvin B. Rowe, b. Madrid, Me.; res. unknown, cr. Strong, Me.; m. i. Feb. 17, '62; 23; s.; bootmaker; tr. 20th.

- Patrick Ryan, b. Cohasset, res. unknown, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. Aug. 1, '63; 26; operative; wd. May '64; tr. Co. E, 20th, as ab. wd.; m. o.
- Bernard Schmidt, b. France; 22; s.; weaver; pris. B. B.; k. May 8, '64.
- Felix Sherbino, b. Canada; m. i. Feb. 19, '64; 21; s.; shoemaker; k. May 8, '64.
- George Shortleeve, b. cr. Brandon, Vt.; m. i. Feb. 19, '64; 21; s.; shoemaker; wd. leg May 8, '62; d. June 5, '64.
- Stephenson Sill, b. res. cr. Holyoke; m. i. Jan. 4, '62; 29; m.; weaver; wd. hand Ant.; dis. March 12, '63.
- Thomas B. Smith, res. cr. Worcester; m. i. July 31, '62; 38; shoemaker; wd. '63; m. o. as ab. wd.
- James M. Snow, b. res. cr. Sutton; m. i. May 14, '62; 27; s.; painter; dis. Jan. 15, '63.
- Jerome P. Southwick, b. res. cr. Northbridge; 17; s.; shoemaker; wd. arms, breast Ant.; dis. Aug. 27, '63.
- Marquis E. Steere, b. Palmer; 18; s. shoemaker; wd. B. B.; wd. lungs Ant.; dis. Jan. 13, '63.
- Alonzo E. Stockwell, res. cr. Sutton; 31; m.; brickmaker; forage master for brigade Oct. '63; m. o.
- Luther Stone, b. Sutton; m. i. July 31, '62; 30; m.; shoemaker; wd. finger Ant.; dis. Jan. 15, '63; reën. V.R.C. Aug. 18, '64.
- John Sullivan, b. Ireland, res. cr. Worcester; 18; s.; blacksmith; wd. arm Ant.; dis. Dec. 19, '62.
- Leonard E. Thayer, b. Palmer; 18; s.; student; dis. Dec. 20, '62.
- Alexander Thompson, b. Ireland, res. cr. Worcester; 18; s.; wire-drawer; k. Ant.
- Samuel Thompson, b. Warren; 26; s.; shoemaker; d. Feb. 5, '62.
- Thomas Thompson, 2d, b. Ireland; 29; m.; carpenter; reën. July 7, '62; pris. Gett.; tr. 20th; dis. Aug. 6, '64.
- Francis E. Tingley, b. sea, res. cr. Bellingham; 25; m.; bootmaker; dis. Nov. 5, '62.
- Owen Tonar, b. France; m. i. July 16, '62; 37; s.; laborer; m. in a. wd. Ant.; wd. hip Gett.; tr. V.R.C. Dec. 20, '63; reported d. in service Feb. 26, '64.
- Conrad M. Tower. Ssee Conrad Amptaeur.
tive; k. Ant.
- John Tully, b. Ireland; 23; s.; shoemaker; dis. March 23, '63.
- Simeon E. Waters, b. res. cr. Millbury; 20; s.; farmer; dis. Sept. 25, '61.
- Martin Welch, b. Ireland, res. cr. Worcester; m. i. Feb. 20, '62; 19; s.; shoemaker; paroled pris. Aug. 31, '63; reën. Feb. 24, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th; m. o.
- Charles H. Wheelock, b. Buffalo, N.Y.; res. cr. Mendon; 21; s.; shoemaker; k. Ant.
- Oliver L. White. See Co. D.
- Albert L. Williams, b. N. Becket, res. cr. Charlton; 18; s.; stone-cutter; d. June 13, '62.
- George O. Williams; b. Worcester, res. Auburn; m. i. Nov. 26, '61; 18; s.; farmer; wd. arm Ant.; tr. Co. E, 20th, Jan. 15, '64; m. o. June 29, '65.
- William T. Woodbury, b. Charlton, cr. unknown; 20; m.; stone-cutter; wd. hip Ant.; dis. March 24, '63.
- Leonard L. Wright, b. Littleton, res. cr. Millbury; 19; s.; chairmaker; dis. March 16, '62.

COMPANY F.

The members of this company were natives and citizens of the Brookfields. The birthplace, residence and credit is Brookfield for each particular for which there is no other entry; North Brookfield for each name followed by N. B.; W. B. and S. B. signify respectively West Brookfield and South Brookfield.

Sardus S. Sloan, capt.; b. Shutesbury; 27; s.; shoemaker; wd. foot B. B.; re. Jan. 17, '62.

J. Evarts Greene, 1st lieutenant; N. B.; b. Boston; 26; s.; lawyer; capt. Jan. 17, '62; pris. B. B.; re. as paroled pris. Oct. 22, '62.

Lyman H. Ellingwood, 2d lieutenant; b. res. Beverly; 22; s.; clerk; 1st lieutenant. Jan. 17, '62; capt. Nov. 26, '62; major July 4, '63, never m.; wd. leg Ant.; wd. hand Nov. 27, '63; com. Co. F in ab. capt. and 1st lieutenant. from Dec. 23, '61; dishonorably dis. May 6, '64.

David M. Earle, p.; N. B.; 22; m.; farmer; sergt. July 24, '62; 1st sergt. Sept. 20, '62; 2d lieutenant. Jan. 8, '63, ass. Co. I; 1st lieutenant. April 17, '63, ass. Co. K; acting adjt. May 11-July 28, '63; capt. Sept. 9, '63, ass. Co. A; ass. Co. F June 5, '64; wd. arm, chest Ant.; det. serv. Boston Harbor July 28, '63; m. o.

Carlton M. Deland. See 1st sergt. 1st lieutenant. May 11, '64, never m. to serve as such in Co. F.

Charles H. Hurlbut. See Co. C. 1st lieutenant. July 14, '64, ass. Co. F, never m.

Edward J. Russell, sergt.; N. B.; b. Hadley; 28; m.; carpenter; 1st sergt. March 1, '62; 2d lieutenant. July 24, '62; 1st lieutenant. Sept. 28, '62; com. Co. I Feb. '63; acting adjt. March '63; capt. Jan. 26, '63, ass. Co. D April 10, '63; com. Co. F in ab. superior off. Sept. 20, '62-Jan. 23, '63; re. Sept. 9, '63; reën. 3d H. Art. May 4, '64, 2d lieutenant; 1st lieutenant. May 28, '64; capt. July 1, '65; m. o. Oct. 1, '65.

George B. Simonds. See Co. B. 1st lieutenant., ass. Co. F Oct. 30 (16), '63; com. Co. F in ab. capt. Dec. 1, '63-May 10, '64.

Frederick Bullard, corp.; 30; m.; wheelwright; sergt. March 1, '62; 1st sergt. July 24, '62; 2d lieutenant. Sept. 19, '62; 1st lieutenant. Jan. 8, '63, never m.; wd. chest Ant.; re. March 29, '63; reën. Co. H, 4th Cav., Feb. 8, '64; 1st sergt.; claims to be the first man to enter Richmond after surrender; dis. June 24, '65.

Lyman Doane, 1st sergt.; 26; s.; clerk; 2d lieutenant. Jan. 17, '62; wd. head B. B.; re. July 23, '63.

Henry C. Ward. See Co. D. 2d lieutenant. Co. F, ass. April 9, '63; re. Sept. 6, '63.

Henry C. Ball, 1st sergt.; b. Sunderland; res. cr. Amherst; 28; m.; broom-maker; wd. contusion Ant.; k. Gett.

Carlton M. Deland, p.; N. B.; b. Speedville, N. Y.; corp. April 9, '63; sergt. May 15, '63; 1st sergt. Jan. 17, '64; 1st lieutenant. May 11, '64, did not m. until April '65, in 20th; reën. March 31, '64; wd. Gett.; pris. June 22, '64; com. Co's E, G, K, in 20th, April-July 16, '65; m. o.

Owen Clapp, p.; b. res. South Scituate, cr. Scituate; m. i. Aug. 11, '62; 29; m.; butcher; corp. Sept. 20, '62; sergt. Nov. 1, '63; m. o. G. O. 28.

Ferdinand Dexter, sergt.; b. Boston; 35; s.; painter; k. B. B. (G. A. R. Post, Brookfield, named from him.)

- Albert H. Foster, corp.; N. B.; b. New Braintree; 21; s.; shoemaker; sergt. March 1, '63; pris. B. B.; det. serv. Boston Harbor, conscript camp, July 28, '63—end of war; m. o.
- Elisha F. Johnson, sergt.; b. Upton; 30; s.; carpenter; k. Ant.
- Daniel W. Knight, corp.; N. B.; 26; s.; shoemaker; sergt. Sept. 18, '62; 1st lieut. April 9, '63, ass. Co. D; pris. B. B.; m. o.
- Lucien A. Lamb, p.; b. Charlton, res. cr. Sturbridge; 23; s.; shoemaker; corp. March 1, '62; sergt. Jan. 1, '64; pris. June 22, '64; m. o. as pris.
- Seth L. Lowe, p.; b. Barre, res. cr. Worcester; 21; s.; shoemaker; sergt. March 1, '63; m. o. July 11, '64.
- Edwin H. Newton, p.; b. unknown; m. i. Feb. 3, '62; 18; s.; shoemaker; wd. hand May '64; tr. Co. E, 20th; m. o.
- Henry E. Smith, corp.; N. B.; 20; s.; shoemaker; sergt.; wd. leg Ant.; breast May 26, '64; at Chester Hospital as com. guard from Gett.—March '64; reën. March 29, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th, ab. wd.; in V.R.C. Dec. '64; 2d lieut. 193d N.Y. Regt. from V.R.C. special order War Dept.; post adjt. Wheeling, Va., July 4, '65; provost marshal Romney, W. Va., Aug. 10, '65; asst. supt. Freedman's Bureau, Harper's Ferry; dis. Jan. 18, '66.
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- James E. Adams, corp.; b. Eastford, Ct.; 21; s.; shoemaker; wd. head B. B.; dis. March 8, '62.
- William L. Adams, corp.; N. B.; res. cr. W. B.; 21; s.; farmer; pris. B. B.; wd. shoulder Ant.; d. Nov. 7, '62 (Oct. 10, '62).
- Charles H. Bartlett, p.; N. B.; 19; s.; mechanic; corp. Nov. 1, '63; pris. B. B.; pris. June 22, '64; m. o. May 22, '65.
- William L. Blood, corp.; b. res. cr. Sturbridge; 19; s.; shoemaker; k. Ant.
- Henry G. Earle, p.; N. B.; m. i. Aug. 13, '62; 18; s.; shoemaker; corp. March 1, '63; pris. June 22, '64; m. o. G. O. 28.
- Joseph C. Fretts, p.; N. B.; b. Hebron, N. H.; 27; s.; shoemaker; corp. June 7, '62; k. Ant.
- John W. Heath, p.; b. Plymouth, N. H.; 24; s.; shoemaker; corp.; wd. leg Ant.; d. wds. Oct. '62.
- Charles N. Holmes, p.; b. New Braintree; 25; s.; sawyer; corp. Sept. 1, '63; det. Pioneer Corps '62-'64; m. o.
- Richard Layton (Leighton), p.; b. Fairfax, Va.; res. unknown; cr. Yarmouth; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 37; s.; soldier; corp.; tr. navy April 23, '64.
- William A. Mullett, p.; b. New Braintree; 33; m.; shoemaker; corp.; pris. June 30, '62; wd. shoulder May '64; d. wds. May 23, '64.
- Elliot H. Robbins, p.; b. Southbridge, res. cr. Charlton; 26; s.; farmer; corp.; wd. head, neck Ant.; wd. May 6, '64; d. wds. July 15, '64.
- Henry H. Slayton, p.; 20; s.; shoemaker; corp. May '63; pris. B. B.; det. Signal Corps Aug. 16, '63; m. o. July 12, '64.
- Benjamin Stevens, p.; N. B.; b. Andover; 21; s.; shoemaker; corp. Nov. 1, '63; wd. arm Ant.; wd. arm. Wilderness, May '64; m. o.
- Artemas D. Ward, p.; b. Warwick; 23; s.; carpenter; corp. March 1, '63; pris. B. B.; wd. arm Gett.; m. o.
- John H. Johnson, musician; N. B.; 19; s.; shoemaker; m. o.
- Isaac N. Matthews, p.; b. New York; res. Charlton; 19; s.; shoemaker; reën. Jan. 4, '64, as musician; tr. Co. K, 20th; m. o.
- Eli Clements, wagoner; b. unknown, res. cr. Worcester; 31; s.; teamster; m. o.

PRIVATES.

- Edwin L. Adams, b. cr. Townsend, res. Worcester; 21; s.; miller; wd. face B. B.; wd. head May 18, '64; reën. March 31, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th, as ab. wd.; dis. March 30, '65.
- Reuben W. Adams, b. Watertown, N. Y.; m. i. Aug. 2, '62; 23; s.; shoemaker; m. in a. Ant.; returned within a few days; dis. May 1, '63.
- Henry C. Albee, b. Milford; 27; s.; shoemaker; pris. B. B.; dis. Nov. 22, '62.
- Alonzo Allen, b. res. Brimfield; m.; farmer; m. i. Feb. 1, '62; wd. legs Ant.; dis. Feb. 1, '63.
- George W. Allen, b. unknown; m. i. Feb. 1, '62; 21; s.; farmer; pris. June 30, '62; wd. abdomen, fingers Gett.; tr. Co. E, 20th; m. o. Feb. 3, '65.
- William J. Babbitt, N. B., b. Warren; m. i. Feb. 1, '62; 39; m.; teamster; dis. Nov. 24, '62.
- Sumner H. Bannister, b. Charlton; 17; s.; shoemaker; pris. B. B.; dis. Nov. 22, '62.
- Francis A. Barnes, b. res. N. B.; m. i. Feb. 3, '62; 27; m.; shoemaker; wd. foot Gett.; tr. Co. E, 20th; m. o. Feb. 2, '65.
- James H. Belcher, b. Calais, Me.; 18; s.; shoemaker; wd. pris. B. B.; dis. April 15, '62.
- William A. Belcher, b. Calais, Me.; 24; s.; painter; pris. B. B.; m. o. Amasa Bemis, b. Spencer; 29; m.; shoemaker; dis. Dec. 15, '61.
- Abram Benjamin, b. unknown, res. cr. Sturbridge; m. i. Jan. 16, '62; 31; m.; farmer; dis. Dec. 24, '63.
- Andrew J. Benson, b. unknown; m. i. July 16, '62; 18; s.; farmer; pris. wd. thigh Ant.; returned within a few days; dis. Dec. 19, '62.
- Franklin L. Benson, b. Sturbridge, res. cr. Brimfield; 28; s.; shoemaker; des. Oct. 31, '62.
- Luke H. B. Blackmer, b. Greenwich, res. cr. Ware; 41; m.; farmer; pris. B. B.; dis. April 24, '63.
- Henry R. Bliss, N. B.; m. i. July 30, '62; 22; m.; mechanic; k. Ant.
- Oliver Bliss, N. B., b. New Braintree; 27; m.; mechanic; tr. V.R.C. Dec. 16, '63; m. o. July 18, '64.
- William H. H. Brewer, N. B.; b. Spencer; 20; s.; shoemaker; pris. B. B.; ex. but never reported.
- John Brown, b. Ireland; res. cr. Worcester; 20; s.; laborer; wd. foot Ant.; dis. Feb. 7, '63.
- Shepard Brown, b. Canterbury, Ct.; 42; m.; carriage-maker; k. Ant.
- Emerson H. Bullard, b. Holden, res. cr. W. B.; 19; s.; farmer; dis. June 2, '62.
- Wady H. Chaver, b. unknown; 22; s.; shoemaker; wd. arms Ant.; pris. June 22, '64; m. o.
- William H. Clark, b. Brimfield, res. cr. Sturbridge; 21; m.; bootmaker; wd. spine Ant.; d. Oct. 1, '62.
- Josiah C. Converse, b. res. cr. New Braintree; 18; s.; farmer; wd. thigh Ant.; pris. June 22, '64; m. o.
- Ezekiel M. Cooper, b. unknown; m. i. Jan. 24, '62; 42; m.; farmer; dis. June 1, '63.
- William Corcoran, b. Ireland, res. cr. Clinton; 40; s.; laborer; dis. Feb. 15, '62.
- James Costello, b. Cambridge, cr. Brimfield; 18; s.; farmer; wd. arm Gett.; m. o.
- Theodore Cummings, N. B.; b. Palmer; 52; m.; shoemaker; dis. Oct. 31, '62; reën. V.R.C. June 21, '64; m. o. Nov. 30, '65.
- Benjamin Davis, b. Shirley; m. i. Aug. 2, '62; 42; shoemaker; k. Ant.

- George A. Davis, b. res. cr. New Braintree; 18; s.; shoemaker; wd. head Ant.; wd. Gett.; k. Oct. 14, '63.
- James L. Davis. See Co. E.
- Richard T. Davis, b. Watertown; res. cr. New Braintree; 41; m.; boot-maker; dis. Nov. 1, '62.
- Amos Dean, N. B.; b. Oakham; m. i. Feb. 1, '62; 25; m.; mechanic; dis. May 1, '62.
- Francis Dickinson, b. Belchertown, res. cr. Amherst; 25; s.; blacksmith; k. B. B.
- Elbridge Doane, 21; s.; farmer; pris. B. B.; wd. arm Gett.; m. o.
- Jeremiah Donovan, b. unknown, res. cr. Worcester; m. i. Dec. 5, '61; 32; m.; wool-sorter; lost arm Ant.; dis. April 2, '64.
- Wellington H. Dore (Dorr), b. Meredith, N. H.; res. cr. Worcester; m. i. July 24, '62; 24; s.; operative; dis. Jan. 23, '63.
- Warren Ellis, b. Fitzwilliams, N. H.; res. cr. Lancaster; 20; s.; mechanic; wd. shoulder Ant.; det. Signal Corps Oct. 27, '63; m. o. July 12, '64.
- James B. Freeman, b. Nova Scotia; 28; s.; shoemaker; det. Signal Corps Oct. 9, '61; dis. July 21, '62; reën. Co. B, 57th Mass. Jan. 4, '64, as sergt.; k. May 6, '64.
- Samuel L. Gilbert, 18; s.; shoemaker; wd. thigh Ant.; dis. Jan. 17, '63.
- William Graham, N. B.; b. England; 26; s.; painter; dis. May 20, '62.
- Gilbert W. Green, b. Leominster; res. cr. Fitchburg; 28; s.; clerk; dis. Jan. 17, '63; reën. Co. C, 4th Cav., p., March 23, '64; corp. April 1, '64; sergt. Sept. 1, '64, 1st sergt. Jan. 1, '65; 2d lieut. July 8, '65; m. o. Nov. 14, '65.
- Otis H. Hamilton, m. i. Aug. 2, '62; 26; m.; shoemaker; wd. arm Ant.; dis. Nov. 2, '62.
- Stephen Harrington, N. B.; b. Stockbridge, Vt.; 32; m.; shoemaker; dis. Oct. 13, '63.
- Joseph D. Harvey, b. res. cr. Brimfield; 22; s.; shoemaker; dis. May 22, '62.
- Michael B. Hayes, b. Ireland, res. cr. Charlton; 35; m.; tailor; wd. legs Ant.; dis. March 25, '63; reën. V.R.C. Aug. 10, '64; dis. Nov. 28, '64.
- Thomas Hays, b. Ireland, res. cr. West Boylston; 20; s.; weaver; pris. wd. collar bone Ant.; m. o.
- Sidney Hewett, b. Charlton; 30; s.; blacksmith; tr. V.R.C. July 28, '63; des. Jan. 21, '64.
- Everett A. Hibbard (Hebard); 17; s.; farmer; dis. Oct. 8, '62.
- George W. A. Hill, N. B.; b. Randolph; 22; s.; shoemaker; dis. Dec. 6, '61.
- John H. Hillman, b. N. B.; 22; s.; sawyer; k. Ant.
- John Howard, N. B.; b. Ireland; 23; s.; shoemaker; pris. B. B.; ex., never reported.
- John A. Hughes, N. B.; b. Boston; 19; s.; shoemaker; d. May 16, '63.
- David Jenks, b. Pelham; m. i. Aug. 12, '62; 38; machinist; pris., wd. arm Ant.; reported to Co. in a few days; dis. Jan. 8, '63.
- John Keenan, b. New York, res. cr. Conway; sub.; m. i. July 31, '63; 21; butcher; wd. May 11, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th, as m. in a.; m. o.; (reported k. May 6, '64, but in hospital June 13, '64).
- William H. Keniston, b. Thomaston, Me.; res. unknown, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. July 31, '63; 33; s.; soldier; tr. navy April 23, '64.
- Amasa B. Kimball, N. B.; 35; m.; teamster; m. o.
- Henry H. Knight, b. res. Charlton; m. i. Jan. 9, '62; 21; s.; whip-maker; dis. May 8, '62.
- Thomas Kohein, b. Ireland, res. unknown, cr. Beverly; sub.; m. i. July 31, '63; 21; s.; sailor; tr. navy April 23, '64.

- Edmund Krenn, b. res. unknown, cr. Taunton; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 28; s.; butcher; des. Aug. 20, '63.
- William Laffler, b. Germany, res. unknown, cr. Berkley; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 21; s.; machinist; des. Aug. 21, '63.
- John Lake, b. res. Troy, N. Y.; cr. Barre; sub.; m. i. July 31, '63; 24; m.; sailor; pris. June 22, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th, as pris.; m. o. May 21, '65.
- Harrison S. Lamb, N. B.; res. cr. New Braintree; 21; s.; shoemaker; wd. hand May 7, '64; m. o.
- Horace G. Langdon, b. Kennebec, Me.; res. Roxbury, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 32; m.; sailor; tr. Co. G, 20th, as ab. wd.; m. o. May 3, '65.
- James Larkins, b. Cape Vincent, N. Y.; res. New York, cr. Berlin; sub.; m. i. July 29, '63; 22; m.; clerk; des. Aug. 21, '63.
- Michael Lawler, b. Ireland, res. unknown, cr. Bernardston; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 23; s.; laborer; des. Sept. 13, '63.
- William Lawler, b. Ireland, res. New York City, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. Aug. 1, '63; wd. May '64; tr. Co. G, 20th, pris. Oct. 27, '64; m. o. as pris.
- Albert H. Lawrence, b. res. Falmouth, cr. Harwich; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 26; s.; seaman; dis. Jan. 7, '64.
- Charles Leford, b. res. Pittsfield, cr. Ashburnham; sub.; m. i. July 25, '63; 22; s.; farmer; des. Sept. 15, '63.
- Albert W. Livermore, b. res. c. W. B.; 18; s.; hostler; wd. leg Ant.; d. Jan. 18, '63.
- William Logan, b. Ireland, res. cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. Aug. 1, '63; 30; m.; sailor; tr. navy April 23, '64.
- Robert Long, b. res. England, cr. Salem; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 21; s.; sailor; tr. navy April 23, '64.
- John Lupicelle, b. Canada, res. unknown, cr. Concord; sub.; m. i. July 28, '63; 25; m.; laborer; des. Aug. 20, '63.
- Jeremiah Lynch, N. B.; b. Ireland; 21; m.; shoemaker; wd. leg Ant.; tr. V.R.C. Feb. 15, '64; m. o. July 12, '64.
- James Lyon, b. New York City, res. cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. Aug. 1, '63; 21; s.; laborer; tr. Co. G, 20th; m. o. July 16, '65.
- William Lyons (Lines), b. res. Patterson, N. J.; cr. Belchertown; sub.; m. i. July 29, '63; 29; m.; printer; tr. Co. G, 20th, as ab. wd.; pris. Dec. '64; m. o. as pris.
- George C. Mann, b. Ashby, res. cr. Lancaster; 21; s.; painter; pris. B.B.; wd. ankle Gett.; m. o.
- Charles W. Marsh, b. Barre, res. cr. W. B.; 20; s.; painter; dis. Nov. 15, '62.
- George L. Marsh, N. B.; b. Sturbridge; m. i. Feb. 1, '62; 19; s.; tailor; dis. Oct. 28, '62; reën. Co. G, 4th Cav., Jan. 27, '64, as saddler; des. June 12, '65.
- Daniel McInnis, b. res. Nova Scotia, cr. Gloucester; sub.; m. i. Aug. 5, '63; 23; s.; fisherman; tr. Co. G, 20th, as ab. sick; m. o. as ab. sick.
- James McRobbie, b. Scotland, res. cr. West Boylston; 27; m.; weaver; dis. Feb. 7, '63.
- Diederick Monkin, b. Prussia, res. cr. Swanzy; sub.; m. i. Aug. 5, '63; 27; s.; locksmith; des. Aug. 21, '63.
- Harrison Moulton, N. B.; m. i. Jan. 20, '62; 18; s.; shoemaker; pris. B. B.; wd. thigh Gett; reën. Feb. 5, '64; pris. June 22, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th, as pris.; d. Jan. 25, '65, as pris.
- Lafayette C. Moulton, b. Monson; 37; m.; iron-moulder; dis. May 1, '62.
- Elijah Nichols, N. B.; b. Fletcher, Vt.; 53; m.; shoemaker; dis. Aug. 2, '62; reën. V.R.C. Sept. 16, '64; m. o. Nov. 30, '65. .

- James S. Nichols, b. Princeton; 19; s.; shoemaker; pris. B. B.; dis. April 15, '62.
- John R. Nichols, N. B.; 18; s.; shoemaker; pris. B. B.; dis. Nov. 22, '62; reën. as corp. Co. H, 8th Regt., July 20, '64; m. o. Nov. 10, '64; reën. also March 22, '65, as sergt. Co. A, 62d; dis. May 3, '65.
- William H. Nichols, 21; m.; shoemaker; pris. B. B.; wd. arm May '64; m. o.
- Alexander Oakes, b. Chesterfield, N.Y.; res. cr. Sturbridge; 22; m; shoemaker; dis. Feb. 19, '63.
- Orin O. Ormsby, b. Fairlee, Vt.; m. i. Aug. 2, '62; 45; m.; farmer; tr. V. R.C. Nov. 11, '63; m. o. Aug. 2, '64.
- William H. H. Ormsby, b. Wolcott, Vt.; 20; s.; farmer; pris. B. B.; m.o.
- Joseph Pecot, b. Canada; m. i. Jan. 30, '62; 34; m.; shoemaker; wd. leg Ant., back Gett., side, arm May '64, hips Aug. 17, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th; m. o. Jan. 28, '65.
- Archibald S. Pellett, N. B.; b. Canterbury, Ct.; cr. unknown; 34; m.; shoemaker; dis. Nov. 15, '62.
- Charles Perry, N. B.; 18; s.; shoemaker; lost leg Ant.; d. Sept. 27, '62.
- Alonzo W. Phillips, b. Albany, N. Y.; 19; s. shoemaker; dis. Oct. 6, '62.
- Charles M. Plummer, b. Haverhill, res. cr. Sturbridge; m. i. Jan. 10, '62; 20; s.; farmer; dis. Dec. 16, '62.
- Augustus N. Potter, b. Rindge, N. H.; 24; painter; dis. Jan. 10, '62; reën. July 28, '62; wd. leg Ant., wd. Gett., arm Nov. 27, '63; pris. June 22, '64, paroled June 25, '64; m. o. as paroled pris. G. O. 28.
- John Pratt, b. Troy, Vt.; res. cr. Brimfield; m. i. March 6, '62; 21; m.; shoemaker; dis. Dec. 31, '63.
- Ralph Preston, b. England; 42; s.; shoemaker; pris. B. B.; tr. V. R.C. Nov. 15, '63, m. o. July 26, '64.
- John H. Prior, b. New York City; 18; s.; shoemaker; pris. B. B.; wd. leg Ant., hand Nov. 27, '63; tr. V.R.C.; m. o. July 12, '65.
- Edward U. Prouty, b. Leverett; m. i. Feb. 7, '62; 31; m.; shoemaker; wd. hip Gett.; d. wds. Gett.
- John W. Raymore (Raymond), N. B.; b. Williamson, N. Y.; m. i. Jan. 21, '62; 20; s.; shoemaker; wd. neck Ant.; dis. Feb. 9, '63; reën. as com. sergt., Co. C, 4th Cav., Jan. 6, '64; m. o. Nov. 14, '65.
- David Reekie, b. Scotland, res. cr. West Boylston; 22; s.; weaver; pris. B. B.; dis. April 20, '63.
- Edwin A. Rice, N. B.; b. Springfield; 20; shoemaker; pris. B. B.; dis. Nov. 22, '62; reën. Co. K, 1st Conn. H. Art., Jan. 4, '64; pris. Fort Steadman March 25, '65; m. o. Sept. 25, '65.
- Emery N. Robbins, b. Thomson, Ct.; m. i. Jan. 14, '62; 29; m.; shoemaker. No record of service.
- Stephen Robbins, b. unknown, res. cr. Charlton; m. i. Aug. 17, '62; 37; farmer; m. o. G. O. 28.
- Michael Rock, N. B.; b. Ireland; m. i. Jan. 30, '62; 29; m.; blacksmith; tr. Co. K, 20th; m. o. Jan. 27, '65.
- Alfred L. Russell, res. cr. Sturbridge; m. i. Dec. 17, '61; 20; s.; farmer; k. Ant.
- James E. Sargent, b. Watertown, Vt.; m. i. Feb. 3, '62; 18; s.; shoemaker; k. Ant.
- Henry H. Slayton, 20; s.; shoemaker; pris. B. B.; det. Signal Corps Oct. 27, '63; m. o.
- Sidney Smith, b. Framingham, res. cr. New Braintree; 29; s.; farmer; k. B. B.

- Jonas H. Spencer, b. Canada, res. cr. Clinton; 18; s.; draper; m. o. Nov. 20, '62; reën. Batt. 1, 1st U. S. L. Art. Nov. 20, '62.
- Harrison W. Stone, N. B.; b. Sutton; m. i. Feb. 3, '62; 27; m.; shoemaker; wd. neck, back Gett.; reën. Dec. 25, '63; tr. Co. K, 20th, as ab.; k. Feb. 5, '65, Hatcher's Run.
- Charles C. Torrey, N. B.; b. Northfield; 40; m.; blacksmith; m. o.
- Merritt A. Towne, b. Union, Ct.; res. cr. Worcester; m. i. Feb. 24, '62; 23; s.; farmer; pris. Ant.; tr. V.R.C. July 28, '64; m. o. Feb. 24, '63.
- George F. Tucker, N. B.; b. Oxford; 43; m.; shoemaker; tr. V.R.C. Sept. 20, '64; m. o. Nov. 14, '65.
- Anthony F. Tufts, b. unknown, res. cr. Westhampton; m. i. Jan. 30, '62; 21; s.; farmer; dis. March 19, '63.
- William E. Vanever, b. Boston, res. cr. W. B.; m. i. Feb. 24, '62; 34; m.; carpenter; wd. chest, hand Ant.; d. Nov. 5, '62, of wds.
- Henry Vibbert, b. Mason, N. H.; res. cr. Fitchburg; 20; s.; cigar-maker; pris. B. B.; des. Oct. 17, '62.
- Porter Walbridge, b. res. cr. Wales; m. i. March 6, '62; 19; s.; farmer; wd. hand, arm Ant.; dis. Dec. 16, '63.
- Warren A. Walker, 21; s.; farmer; wd. leg Ant.; dis. Dec. 4, '62.
- William H. Walker, cr. Worcester; m. i. July 22, '62; 21; farmer; dis. March 19, '63.
- Edward F. Ware, b. Oakham; 25; m.; shoemaker; d. Sept. 23, '61.
- Charles P. Webber, b. W. B.; m. i. Jan. 16, '62; 21; shoemaker; dis. Nov. 15, '62; reën. Co. I, 2d H. Art., Dec. 11, '63; m. o. Sept. 3, '65.
- Justus C. Wellington, N. B.; res. cr. W. B.; 23; s.; shoemaker; k. Ant.
- Benjamin C. Wheelock, N. B.; b. South Orange; m. i. Feb. 3, '62; 31; m.; shoemaker; dis. March 3, '63, as in Co. A.
- Elias H. Woodard, N. B.; b. Leicester; 39; m.; mechanic; dis. Feb. 12, '62.
- Albert R. Wright, b. unknown, res. cr. Amherst; m. i. Jan. 50, '62; 21; s.; farmer; dis. March 21, '63.
- Richard Yeaton, b. Alfred, Me.; 27; m.; tool-maker; dis. Jan. 31, '62.

COMPANY G.

The members of this company were natives and citizens of Grafton and were credited on the quota of that town unless it is otherwise stated in each particular. For the history of this company before the date of muster, see pages 24-25.

- Walter Forehand, capt.; b. Croydon, N. H.; 35; m.; shoemaker; wd. foot B. B.; wd. hand Ant.; re. Oct. 9, '62; reën. V.R.C. capt. Co. G, 9th Regt.
- John Murkland. See Co. B. Capt. Co. G Nov. 27, '62-July 3, '63.
- William R. Wheelock. See Staff Officers. Capt. July 5, '63, ass. Co. G; det. serv. as brig. q. m., and in com. pioneers 2d div. 2d Army Corps; m. o.
- Pliny M. George. See Co. I. 1st lieut. Co. G March 1, '63-April 15, '64.
- Newell K. Holden, 1st lieut.; b. Newfane, Vt.; 24; s.; shoemaker; re. April 27, '62.
- Albert Prince. See Co. E. 2d lieut. Feb. 22, '62, ass. Co. G; 1st lieut. Sept. 18, '62, ass. Co. G; tr. as capt. Co. E Feb. 21, '63.

Thomas J. Spurr, 1st lieut.; res. cr. Worcester; m. i. Nov. 17, '61; reported, ass. Co. E Jan. 1, '62; ass. Co. G April 29, '62; wd. leg Ant.; d. wds. Sept. 27, '62.

Charles M. Batchelder, 1st sergt; 29; s.; shoemaker; 2d lieut. Sept. 18, '62; 1st lieut. Jan. 3, '63, declined promotion; wd. Ant.; re. Dec. 26, '63.
Stephen L. Kearney, b. New London, Ct.; res. Washington, D. C.; 26; m.; soldier; re. Jan. 16, '62.

Henry T. Dudley, p.; b. res. cr. Sutton; 20; s.; machinist; 1st sergt. Dec. 19, '62; 2d lieut. Jan. 3, '63; m. April 9, '63, ass. Co. A; 1st lieut. April 11, '63, ass. Co. A; capt. Dec. 3, '63, ass. Co. A; tr. as Capt. Co. G, 20th, in actual command of Cos. E, G and K, as tr. to 20th, being only line officer present; wd. leg Ant., side Gett., knee May 6, '64, leg 2d Deep Bottom; pris. Aug. 25, '64; m. o. March 25, '65.

Charles H. Oakes, p.; b. Temple, Me.; 25; m.; shoemaker; sergt. March 1, '63; 1st sergt. Sept. 1, '63; wd. arm May 6, '64; m. o.
George N. Wheelock, p.; b. Barre; 23; s.; farmer; sergt. March 5, '62; 1st sergt. April 13, '63; wd. Gett.; d. July 3, '63, of wds.

Alfred A. Howe, p.; b. Fitchburg; 19; s.; currier; sergt. Sept. '63; wd. Nov. 27, '63; pris. June 22, '64; m. o. July 22, '64; d. Annapolis, Md., Dec. 23, '64.

Charles A. Johnson, p.; b. Philadelphia, Pa.; 38; m.; sailor; sergt. Nov. 1, '62; dis. Oct. 12, '63.

James S. Kirkup, p.; b. Northbridge; m. i. Nov. 26, '61; 18; s.; farmer; sergt. Oct. 1, '64; wd. leg Ant.; tr. Co. G, 20th, Dec. 25, '63; m. o. as ab. wd.

Daniel R. Knox, p.; b. Blackstone, res. cr. Millbury; m. i. Aug. 6, '61; 25; s.; shoemaker; sergt.; wd. shoulder Gett.; tr. V.R.C. Feb. 15, '64; m. o. Aug. 6, '64.

Abner H. Rice, corp.; b. Stratton, Vt.; 23; s.; shoemaker; sergt. Feb. '63; wd. leg B. B.; k. May 5, '64.

Albert A. Smith, sergt.; 29; m.; shoemaker; wd. Ant.; dis. Oct. 28, '62.

Jonathan P. Stowe, sergt.; 29; s.; farmer; pris. B. B.; lost leg Ant.; d. Oct. 1, '62.

George E. Tiffany, sergt.; b. Walworth, N. Y.; 23; m.; gardener; wd. forearm, side B. B.; tr. V.R.C. March 9, '64.

Charles W. Wingate, p.; b. Oxford, res. cr. Manchester; m. i. Aug. 6, '61; 27; s.; shoemaker; corp.; sergt. Oct. 2, '62; pris. B. B.; V.R.C. March 15, '64; m. o. as ab. sick.

Gilbert E. Balcolm, p.; b. East Douglas; 20; s.; shoemaker; corp. March 5, '62; d. Dec. 12, '62.

Thomas M. Bigelow, p.; 19; s.; shoemaker; corp.; tr. V.R.C. Sept. 30, '63.

Julius A. Clisbee, p.; b. unknown; m. i. Dec. 11, '61; 28; m.; carpenter; corp. Sept. 1, '62; dis. Dec. 6, '62.

Charles Davis, corp.; b. unknown, res. cr. Worcester; m. i. Aug. 4, '61; 38; s.; tailor; pris. B. B.; d. Washington, March 15, '62.

George Davis, p.; b. Rutland; 36; s.; shoemaker; corp.; pris. B. B.; dis. Aug. 20, '63.

Asa F. Day, b. Dudley, res. cr. Sutton; 29; s.; farmer; dis. May 24, '62.

Francis P. Fairbanks, p.; 19; s.; farmer; corp. March 15, '62; dis. Nov. 25, '62.

Levi T. Ford, p.; b. Canada; 26; m.; shoemaker; corp. April 1, '62; dis. May, '62.
 Wilder S. Holbrook, p.; b. Northbridge; res. cr. Sutton; 20; s.; farmer; corp. April 1, '62; wd. shoulder B. B.; dis. July 6, '62; reën. 36th Regt., 2d lieut. Aug. 22, '62; re. July 31, '63.
 John H. Kimball, p.; b. Haverhill; 30; s.; shoemaker; corp. March 1, '63; pris. June 22, '64; m. o. May 17, '65.
 George A. Macker, p.; b. Medway; 18; s.; shoemaker; corp. Oct. 2, '62; pris. June 22, '64; m. o. May 17, '65.
 George McCouche, p.; b. Albany, N. Y.; res. Pittsfield, cr. Berlin; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 23; s.; machinist; tr. Co. G, 20th, as ab. sick; tr. V. R.C. April 17, '65; m. o. Oct. 10, '65, as corp.
 Frank D. Morse, p.; b. unknown; res. cr. Worcester; m. i. Nov. 26, '61; 18; s.; machinist; corp. April 1, '63; wd. foot Ant.; tr. 20th; m. o. Nov. 4, '64.
 Frederick B. Robinson, p.; 22; s.; shoemaker; corp.; wd. shoulder B.B.; dis. May 24, '62.
 Thomas W. Allen, musician; b. Northbridge; 18; s.; shoemaker; reën. Feb. 21, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th; m. o.
 Joseph L. Cummings, musician; b. Woodstock, res. cr. Spencer; m. i. July 30, '61; 37; s.; bootmaker; dis. Feb. 13, '62.
 Curtis Cady, wagoner; b. Vermont.; m. i. July 30, '61; 37; m.; groom; k. June 3, '64.

PRIVATES.

Henry O. Adams, b. res. cr. Townsend, Ct.; m. i. Aug. 5, '61; 24; s.; laborer; pris. B. B.; wd. face Ant.; dis. Feb. 7, '63.
 Bradford E. Aldrich, b. unknown; m. i. Feb. 4, '62; 21; m.; boot-maker; wd. face Ant.; tr. V.R.C. July 27, '63; m. o.
 Charles H. Aldrich, b. Norwich, Ct.; res. cr. Sutton; m. i. July 30, '61; 24; s.; farmer; tr. Co. E, 20th, as pris.; m. o. July 29, '64.
 Walter H. Allen, b. unknown, res. cr. Blackstone; m. i. July 26, '62; 18; farmer; dis. Feb. 5, '63.
 Arthur J. Andrews, b. Springfield, res. cr. Northbridge; m. i. Aug. 8, '62; 19; machinist; k. Ant.
 Henry S. Ball, 24; s.; shoemaker; d. Dec. 7, '62.
 Leroy D. Ball, b. Princeton, res. cr. Worcester; 18; s.; machinist; pris. B. B.; m. o.
 Simeon E. Ball, b. Lewiston, Me.; res. cr. Leicester; 18; s.; farmer; d. Jan. 24, '62.
 Joseph Berry, b. unknown, res. cr. Worcester; m. i. Dec. 9, '61; 22; s.; shoemaker; wd. arm May '64; tr. Co. E, 20th; m. o. Dec. 4, '64.
 Richard Barrett, b. unknown, res. cr. Millbury; m. i. Dec. 5, '61; 35; m.; mechanic; dis. July 11, '62.
 Renssalaer Barton, b. unknown, res. cr. Spencer; m. i. Aug. 31, '62; 43; m.; mason; dis. Jan. 27, '63.
 Harvey Bassett. No further record.
 Alonzo R. Belknap, b. Sterling, res. cr. Sutton; 34; m.; bootmaker; wd. breast B. B.; d. Oct. 23, '61.
 Charles W. Berry, b. Marshfield; 18; s.; teamster; wd. arm Ant.; dis. Feb. 5, '63.
 James E. Black, b. unknown, res. cr. Worcester; m. i. July 28, '62; 42; m. o. Aug. 15, '64.
 Joseph Bonner, b. Canada; 35; m.; shoemaker; pris. B. B.; k. May 6, '64.

- Lucius D. Boyden, b. Holden; 25; m.; shoemaker; d. Aug. 26, '62.
- Robert N. Brainard, b. Chicopee Falls, res. cr. Worcester; m. i. July 26, '62; 24; mechanic; wd. hand, May '64; reën. Feb. 9, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th; tr. V.R.C. Oct. 6, '64; dis. Jan. 1, '65.
- Adelbert L. Brown, 19; s.; bootmaker; wd. shoulder F. O.; d. June 18, '62.
- Ira F. Brown, res. cr. Sutton; 23; s.; boxmaker; dis. Jan. 13, '63.
- Asa T. Bryant, b. Sutton; 22; s.; shoemaker; k. Ant.
- George E. Burns, b. unknown, res. cr. Sutton; m. i. Dec. 9, '61; 39; m.; operative; wd. thigh Gett.; tr. 20th.
- George E. Burns, 2d, b. unknown; m. i. July 30, '62; 27; m.; carpenter; pris. wd. leg, thigh Ant.; returned from m. in a. Oct. 24, '62; d. Nov. 15, '62.
- Donald A. Campbell, b. unknown; m. i. July 30, '62; 18; operative; pris. June 22, '64; d. Feb. 16, '65, as pris.
- C. L. Caswell, b. Vermont; 18; s.; shoemaker; pris. B. B.; k. Dec. 13, '62.
- John Chappell, b. Providence, R. I.; 23; s.; sailor; dis. Dec. 20, '62.
- Charles Claflin, b. Hopkinton; 20; s.; shoemaker; dis. Aug. 25, '61; reën. Jan. 6, '64, Co. C, 4th Cav.; dis. April 1, '65.
- Richard E. Clapp, b. Franklin, Vt.; res. cr. Millbury; m. i. Aug. 21, '62; 30; gunsmith; dis. Dec. 30, '62.
- Harrison J. Clisbee, b. unknown; m. i. Dec. 11, '61; 18; s.; carpenter; k. Ant.
- William E. Collins, b. Brookfield, Wis.; 18; s.; shoemaker; m. o.
- J. W. Cook, b. Mendon, res. cr. Millford; 22; s.; bootcutter; m. o. Aug. '61.
- George W. Cross, b. unknown, res. cr. Marlboro; m. i. Feb. 17, '62; 21; s.; farmer; k. Gett. Is he the George W. Cross of Co. E?
- Joseph L. Cummings, b. unknown, res. cr. Spencer; m. i. July 30, '61; dis. Feb. 13, '62.
- David M. Daniels, b. Woonsocket, R. I.; res. cr. Sutton; 20; s.; operative; wd. arm Ant.; dis. Nov. 27, '62.
- Marcus Daniels, 19; s.; shoemaker; never left state; reën. Co. E, 51st Regt., Sept. 25, '62; m. o. July 27, '63.
- Albert Davis, b. res. cr. Upton; m. i. July 30, '61; 18; m.; shoemaker; wd. arm Ant.; tr. Co. E, 20th; m. o. May 5, '65.
- John W. Davis, b. Nantucket; 36; m.; tinsmith; dishonorably dis. Nov. 4, '63.
- Orin (Orville) L. Davis, b. unknown; m. i. Aug. 1, '62; 41; s.; shoemaker; k. Ant.
- Horace Day, b. Killingly, Ct.; 35; m.; shoemaker; wd. B. B.; dis. April 25, '62.
- William Dean, b. Stoneham, res. cr. Upton; m. i. July 30, '61; 21; s.; mechanic; dis. April 25, '62.
- James T. Dennis, 20; s.; groom; tr. V.R.C. March 15, '64; m. o. as ab. sick.
- John C. Desmond, b. res. unknown; m. i. Dec. 11, '61. ———
- John C. Dixon, b. Heath, res. Worcester, cr. Dudley; m. i. Aug. 1, '62; 24; m.; farmer; reën. Dec. 25, '63; pris. June 22, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th, as pris.; m. o. July 27, '65.
- Michael Dugan, b. Ireland, res. cr. Uxbridge; m. i. July 30, '61; 18; s.; farmer; pris. B. B.; pris. wd. heels Ant.; d. as pris.
- Benjamin R. Elliott, b. Rumford, Me.; res. cr. Douglas; m. i. July 30, '61; 27; m.; teamster; k. Ant.
- Reuben A. Ellis, b. Middlesex, Vt.; 22; s.; painter; pris. B. B.; d. pris. Dec. 25, '61.

- Alton W. Fairbanks, b. Boylston; 18; s.; shoemaker; pris. B. B.; dis. Nov. 22, '62.
- William (Walter) J. Flagg, b. Hubbardston, res. cr. Northbridge; 28; s.; farmer; dis. Aug. 3, '62.
- John C. Ford, b. Canada, res. cr. Sutton; m. i. Feb. 4, '62; 28; m.; farmer; dis. April 16, '62.
- Henry A. Frissle, m. i. Aug. 11, '62; 18; hostler; pris. Oct. 14, '63; d. March 7, '64, as pris.
- William L. Fuller, b. Millbury, res. cr. Sutton; 19; s.; farmer; wd. foot B. B.; dis. April 25, '62; reën. Co. A, 34th Regt., July 31, '62; des. June 13, '63.
- Charles L. Goodwin, b. unknown, res. cr. Worcester; m. i. Feb. 20, '62; 25; m.; bootmaker; dis. Oct. 10, '62.
- William H. Gordon, b. res. cr. Troy, N.Y.; m. i. July 30, '61; 30; s.; painter; wd. leg Ant.; dis. Jan. 22, '63.
- William C. Green, b. New Hampshire, res. cr. Sutton; 23; m.; shuttle-maker; d. June 30, '62, on march.
- Alexander Graving, b. unknown, res. Poolesville, Md.; m. i. Sept. 4, '61; tr. 20th.
- William S. Hall, b. Sutton, res. cr. Northbridge; m. i. July 30, '61; 43; m.; shoemaker; wd. head Ant.; dis. May 23, '62.
- Edwin L. Hammond, b. res. unknown; m. i. Dec. 11, '61. No record.
- Daniel Harris, b. Moretown, Vt.; res. cr. Worcester; 26; s.; painter; d. June 30, '62, drowned on march.
- William Hart, b. res. cr. Worcester; m. i. July 28, '62; 22; yeoman; d. pris. Sept. 6, '64.
- Cromwell L. Hill, b. Millbury; 18; s.; shoemaker; pris. B. B.; dis. July 23, '62.
- John Holland, b. Worcester; m. i. July 12, '61; 19; s.; shoemaker; wd. B. B.; dis. April 19, '62.
- Theodore E. Holt, b. unknown; m. i. Aug. 11, '62; 18; shoemaker; wd. leg Ant.; tr. V.R.C. Feb. 15, '63; m. o. Feb. 6, '64.
- John Howith (Howarth), b. England; 38; s.; weaver; pris. B. B.; wd. side Gett.; dis. Aug. 26, '63.
- Francis E. Huckins, res. Grafton; 19; s.; farmer; m. o.
- James Hughes, b. Ireland; 18; s.; bootmaker; lost leg Ant.; d. Sept. 28, '62.
- E. S. Johnson, b. Southboro; 17; s.; clerk; pris. Ant.; dis. date unknown.
- Richard M. Johnson, b. Northbridge; 19; s.; bootmaker; reën. Dec. 25, '63; tr. Co. G, 20th, as ab. wd.; m. o.
- James L. Keating, b. Worcester; 23; s.; shoemaker; never left state.
- James C. Kelley, b. Ireland; 23; s.; shoemaker; lost hand B. B.; dis. March 12, '62.
- Alonzo E. Kennedy, b. Northbridge; res. cr. Boston; m. i. Aug. 15, '62; 24; merchant; m. o. G. O. 28.
- John Legasy, b. Vermont; m. i. July 30, '61; 20; s.; machinist; wd. arm Ant.; dis. Oct. 6, '63.
- Elisha S. Livermore, b. Lisle, N.Y.; res. cr. Millbury; 41; m.; bootmaker; pris. B. B.; wd. breast Gett.; dis. Aug. 12, '63.
- Henry Mack, b. England, res. unknown, cr. Wellfleet; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; des. Sept. 13, '63.
- Robert Madden, b. Ireland, res. cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. July 31, '63; 21; s.; laborer; pris. June 22, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th, as pris.; m. o. as ab. pris.
- Herman Maier, b. Germany, res. cr. Harwich; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 32; s.; steward; tr. Co. G, 20th, as pris.; m. o. as ab. sick.

- Francis H. Marble, b. Sutton; 18; s.; shoemaker; wd. shoulder B. B., breast Ant.; d. Nov. 26, '62.
- Frederick C. Margrum, b. Trenton, N. J.; 21; s.; shoemaker; dis. March 25, '63.
- Frank Martin, b. France, res. unknown, cr. Amherst; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 32; s.; sailor; wd. Nov. 27, '63; tr. navy April 23, '64.
- John Martin, b. Ireland; m. i. Dec. 11, '61; 20; s.; farmer; reën. Jan. 1, '64; wd. May 6, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th, as ab. wd.; m. o.
- William Matthews, b. England; 25; m.; gardener; k. Dec. 13, '62.
- Henry Mayer, b. res. Germany, cr. Barre; sub.; m. i. July 25, '63; 30; s.; cook; pris. May 15, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th, as pris.; m. o. as pris.
- James McCarthy, b. unknown, res. New York City, cr. Chesterfield; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 19; s.; carpenter; des. Sept. 15, '63.
- John McCue, b. Pittsfield, res. cr. Bernardston; m. i. July 31, '63; 21; s.; blacksmith; pris. June 22, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th, as pris.; m. o. May 30, '65.
- Samuel A. McCurdy, b. Worcester, res. cr. Sutton; 18; s.; shoemaker; pris. B. B.; wd. leg Gett.; tr. V.R.C. Jan. 9, '64; m. o. July 19, '64.
- John McDormal, b. Denmark, res. unknown, cr. Bernardston; sub.; m. i. July 24, '63; 28; s.; moulder; des. Sept. 15, '63.
- Miles McHugh, b. Ireland, res. unknown, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. July 31, '63; 20; shoemaker; des. Aug. 26, '63.
- Patrick McHugh, b. res. Ireland, cr. Milton; sub.; m. i. July 31, '63; 22; s.; soldier; pris. June 22, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th, as pris.; m. o. as pris.
- John M. McKenzie, b. unknown; m. i. Aug. 6, '61; 26; m.; shoemaker. Never left state.
- Adam McKnight, b. Scotland, res. unknown, cr. Oxford; sub.; m. i. July 28, '63; 35; s.; seaman; tr. Co. G, 20th; m. o.
- James McLaughlin, b. Ireland; 33; s.; weaver; dis. March 12, '62.
- Patrick McNulty, b. Ireland, res. Pittsfield, cr. Fitchburg; sub.; m. i. July 27, '63; 26; s.; mill hand; tr. Co. G, 20th, as ab. sick; m. o.
- C. J. Merriam, res. cr. Worcester; 24; m.; wood-turner; k. Ant.
- George Meyers, b. res. Germany, cr. Milton; sub.; m. i. July 29, '63; 21; merchant; des. Sept. 13, '63.
- Charles L. Mitchell, b. Dixfield, Me.; m. i. Aug. 11, '62; 45; shoemaker; d. Oct. 24, '62, of wds.
- James Moor, b. Ireland, res. New York City, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. July 17, '63; 21; laborer. Never reported to Co.
- David Moore, b. Mt. Vernon, Me.; res. cr. Worcester; m. i. July 24, '62; 43; wagoner; wd. thigh Ant.; tr. V.R.C. Feb. 15, '64; m. o. July 18, '64.
- Henry Moore, b. Ireland, res. Canada, cr. Quincy; sub.; m. i. Aug. 1, '63; 30; m.; clerk; des. April 18, '64.
- Lewis H. Moore, b. unknown, res. cr. Sutton; m. i. July 30, '62; 19; shoemaker; k. Ant.
- William T. Moore, b. Boston, res. cr. Worcester; 20; s.; machinist; wd. leg Ant., face, leg Gett.; tr. V.R.C. Feb. 15, '64; m. o. July 26, '64.
- George L. Morse, b. res. cr. New York City; m. i. Aug. 6, '61; 23; s.; shoemaker; dis. April 22, '62.
- William E. Morse, b. Concord; 18; s.; machinist; wd. hip Ant.; d. Dec. 30, '62.
- John Muller, b. Germany, res. New York City, cr. Rehoboth; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 34; m.; farmer; des. Sept. 13, '63.
- George A. Munroe, b. unknown; m. i. Dec. 11, '61; 18; s.; farmer; tr. V. R.C. Oct. 15, '62.
- John Murphy, 1st, b. Scotland, res. Boston, cr. Warwick; sub.; m. i. July 29, '63; 29; m.; seaman. Never reported.

- John Murphy, 2d, b. res. unknown, cr. Barre; m. i. July 30, '63; 21; s.; printer; tr. 20th as ab. sick; m. o. as ab. sick.
- Patrick Murphy, b. England, res. Canada, cr. Dennis; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 23; s.; seaman; des. Aug. 23, '63.
- Elmer N. Newton, 23; s.; clerk; k. B. B.
- Sylvester Oakes, b. Temple, Me.; m. i. July 31, '61; 21; s.; shoemaker; k. Dec. 13, '62.
- William K. Oakes, b. unknown, res. cr. Worcester; m. i. Feb. 20, '62; 19; m.; bootmaker; wd. leg Ant.; dis. Dec. 12, '62.
- Samuel C. Osland, b. res. cr. Paxton; m. i. July 30, '61; 24; s.; farmer; pris. B. B.; d. March, '62.
- George H. Paine, b. res. cr. Sutton; m. i. Aug. 4, '62; 19; farmer; dis. May 28, '63.
- James Perry, b. N. B., res. cr. Worcester; m. i. March 2, '64; 18; s.; laborer; k. May 6, '64.
- Oscar Phetteplace, b. unknown, res. cr. Worcester; m. i. Nov. 26, '61; 18; s.; machinist; wd. leg. Ant.; dis. Jan. 31, '63.
- George G. Phillips, b. Harwood, res. cr. Millbury; m. i. Aug. 6, '61; 32; m.; shoemaker; k. B. B.
- Charles H. Plimpton, b. unknown, res. cr. Sutton; m. i. July 31, '62; 17; s.; farmer; wd. leg Ant., leg Gett.; tr. V.R.C. Sept. 1, '63.
- Frank A. Plympton, b. Woodsboro, Vt.; m. i. July 30, '61; 20; s.; teamster; dis. Dec. 31, '63.
- Webster Plympton, b. Woodsboro, Vt.; m. i. July 30, '61; 21; s.; teamster; m. o. Oct. 20, '62; reën. Batt. I, 1st U. S. L. Art Nov. 10, '62.
- C. L. Preston, b. res. cr. Worcester; m. i. July 30, '61; 17; s.; farmer; wd. hip B. B.; pris. Ant.; des. March 1, '63.
- John A. Remick, b. Richmond, Me.; res. cr. Sutton; 18; s.; bootmaker; wd. face, shoulder, breast Ant.; dis. Jan. 29, '63.
- M. A. Rhoades (Roods), 23; s.; farmer; m. o.
- Charles A. Rice, b. Killingly, Ct.; res. cr. Sutton; 31; m.; shoemaker; tr. V.R.C. Sept. 30, '63.
- William E. Robbins, b. unknown; m. i. Feb. 11, '62; 33; m.; shoemaker; dis. Jan. 18, '63.
- William Robins, b. Boston, res. cr. Cambridge; m. i. Nov. 22, '62; 42; carpenter; d. Sept. 8, '63, wds.
- Calvin A. Rockwood, b. Northbridge, res. cr. Worcester; 19; m.; clerk; pris. B. B.; wd. arm Spottsylvania, May '64; d. wds. May 31, '64.
- John M. Sargent, b. Oxford, N. H.; m. i. Aug. 11, '62; 36; clicker; wd. heel, ankle Ant.; dis. March 26, '63.
- Lucius M. Sargent, b. res. unknown; dis. Aug. '61.
- Peter Sherburt, b. Canada; 23; m.; shoemaker; wd. leg B. B.; dis. Feb. 12, '62.
- J. D. Sherman, 21; s.; shoemaker; k. B. B.
- Harvey L. Sibley, b. Cuba, N. Y.; res. cr. Douglas; m. i. July 30, '61; 21; s.; machinist; wd. hand Ant.; tr. V.R.C. Nov. 15, '63; m. o.
- William Sibley, b. Leicester; 31; m.; shoemaker; dis. Nov. 14, '62.
- Wilson Sibley, b. Leicester, res. cr. Sutton; 31; m. shoemaker; wd. back B. B.; dis. Nov. 14, '62.
- Edwin J. Smith, b. Waterford, R. I.; res. cr. Uxbridge; m. i. July 20, '62; 18; hostler; dis. Jan. 31, '63.
- John R. Smith, b. New London, Ct.; res. unknown; m. i. Aug. 25, '62.
- Alfred Snow, b. Medway; 20; s.; shoemaker; wd. leg Ant.; d. Oct. 18, '62.
- Charles D. Snow, b. Shemango, N. Y.; 18; s.; shoemaker; wd. arm B. B.; dis. Sept. 19, '62.

Walter H. Steadson (Stetson), b. Boston, res. cr. Cambridge; m. i. Nov. 20, '62; 19; s.; shoemaker; tr. Co. K, 20th, as pris.; d. Aug. 22, '64, as pris.
 J. Frank Sweeney, 23; m.; artist; never left state.
 G. E. Tiffany, b. unknown; 23; tr. V.R.C. March 9, '64.
 Albert Wait, b. Woodstock, Ct.; res. cr. Providence, R.I.; 22; s.; jeweler; dis. Aug. 12, '62.
 Frederick Whitney, b. Marlboro; m. i. Feb. 4, '62; 33; m.; shoemaker; dis. July 31, '62.
 Frederick Whitney, b. unknown; m. i. July 30, '62; 18; s.; farmer; tr. 20th; m. o. Aug. 6, '64.
 Cassius M. Wilder, b. res. cr. Sutton; 18; s.; clerk; det. signal serv. Aug. 31, '61; d. July 20, '62.
 Samuel Young, b. sea; 17; s.; weaver; m. o. Aug. 25, '61.

COMPANY H.

The members of this company were natives of Northbridge, and were credited on the quota of that town unless it is otherwise stated in each particular. For the history of this company before the date of muster, see pages 27-29.

Chase Philbrick. See Field Officers. Capt. Co. H to April 29, '62.
 Amos Bartlett. See Co. I. Capt. May 21, '62, ass. Co. H; re. Jan. 7, '63.
 Henry S. Taft, 1st lieutenant; b. Charlton; 26; m.; clerk; det. Signal Corps Sept. '61; capt. Jan. 17, '63, ass. Co. H but still on det. serv. Signal Corps; capt. Signal Corps, U. S. A., March 3, '63; brevet major U. S. Vols. March 13, '65; serv. at Port Royal Ferry Jan. 1, '62; brevet lieutenant-col. U. S. Vols. March 13, '65, gallant and meritorious serv. during war; acting chief signal off. Dept. of the South July-Dec. 11, '62, Dec. 11-June '63, chief signal off. Dept. of the South. In charge signal office at Washington under Col. Myer June '63-re. Nov. 25, '63.

Amable Beaudry. See Co. B. 1st lieutenant. July 4, '63, m. Oct. 31, ass. Co. H; m. o.

Samuel J. Fletcher, sergt.; b. Solan, Me.; 30; s.; engineer; 1st sergt. Jan. 16, '62; 2d lieutenant. July 18, '62; 1st lieutenant. Nov. 14, '62; capt. July 4, '63, m. Oct. 30, '63, ass. Co. D Nov. 6, '63; wd. face Gett.; wd. hand May '64; m. o.

Henry G. Bigelow. See Co. D. 2d lieutenant. Oct. 28, '62, ass. Co. H.

Richard Derby. See Co. C. 2d lieutenant. Co. H to Jan. 5, '62.

James May. See Co. B. 2d lieutenant. Co. H April 14, '63.

James M. Taft, 1st sergt.; b. Uxbridge; 37; m.; trader; 2d lieutenant. Jan. 17, '62; re. July 17, '62.

Edwin R. Brown, p.; b. Rehoboth; 22; s.; machinist; corp. Sept. 18, '62; sergt. Sept. 1, '63; 1st sergt.; wd. neck B. B.; wd. side June '64; d. June 24, '64.

Edward Chapin, p.; b. White Pigeon, Mich.; m. i. Aug. 6, '62; 21; s.; student; corp. Sept. 18, '62; sergt. April 8, '63; 1st sergt.; wd. legs Gett.; d. wds. Aug. 4, '63.

Nelson V. Stanton, p.; b. unknown; 19; s.; painter; corp. Aug. 9, '61; sergt. May 4, '62; 1st sergt. Sept. 17, '62; 2d lieutenant. Jan. 22, '62, ass. Co.

- B; 1st lieut. July 4, '63, ass. Co. D; adjt.; capt. Feb. 6, '64, never m.; wd. arm, breast Gett.; wd. May 12, '64; m. o.
- Edwin H. Tanner, p.; b. Webster; 20; s.; machinist; corp. Sept. 18, '62; sergt. Oct. 11, '62; 1st sergt. June '64; m. o.
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- Charles H. Bean, sergt.; 22; s.; engineer; dis. Oct. 16, '62.
- John T. Bixbee, p.; b. res. cr. Worcester; m. i. Aug. 2, '61; 18; s.; machinist; wd. neck Ant.; d. Sept. 12, '63.
- Abram F. Burrell, p.; b. Slatersville, R. I.; res. cr. Uxbridge; 21; s.; laborer; corp. Feb. 17, '62; sergt. May 1, '63; wd. leg Ant.; wd. leg Gett.; d. wds. Aug. 21, '63.
- George W. Davidson, corp.; b. Brooklyn, Ct.; 23; m.; machinist; sergt. Jan. 16, '62; dis. Oct. 11, '62.
- Edward R. Harrington, p.; res. cr. Millbury; m. i. July 25, '61; 20; s.; clerk; corp. Sept. 1, '63. sergt. Feb. 2, '64; wd. wrist B. B.; wd. hip June '64; d. July 30, '64; m. o. as ab.
- Patrick Murphy, p.; b. Ireland; 23; s.; stone-cutter; sergt. Oct. 11, '62; wd. back Gett.; m. o.
- Nathan A. Seaver, p.; b. Thompson, Ct.; m. i. July 25, '61; 18; s.; laborer; corp. Sept. 1, '63; sergt. June 23, '64; m. o.
- Silas A. Slocomb, corp.; b. Sutton; 27; s.; machinist; sergt. June 6, '62; wd. arm Ant.; m. o.
- Gilbert P. Whitman, sergt.; b. Johnston, R. I.; 24; s.; machinist; wd. arm, breast, thigh Ant.; dis. Jan. 5, '63.
- James H. Williams, p.; 40; m.; machinist; corp. Sept. 18, '62; sergt. Oct. 11, '62; wd. wrist May '64; m. o.
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- Eli M. Batchelor, p.; b. Uxbridge; 23; s.; painter; corp. Jan. 16, '62; dis. April 27, '62.
- Rufus H. Belding, p.; b. Westfort, Ct.; res. cr. Douglas; 18; s.; axe-maker; corp. Feb. 2, '64; wd. hand Ant.; m. o.
- Franklin Bullard, p.; b. Holden, res. cr. Douglas; 18; s.; machinist; corp. June 23, '64; wd. thigh Ant.; m. o.
- William H. Burgess, corp.; b. Providence, R. I.; 29; s.; seaman; tr. Western Flotilla Dec. 8, '63.
- John F. Butters, p.; b. Brookfield, res. cr. Malden; m. i. Aug. 7, '61; 20; s.; farmer; corp.; reën. Dec. 23, '63; wd. May 12, '64; d. wds.
- Henry A. Collar, corp.; b. New Boston, Ct.; res. cr. Uxbridge; 20; s.; clerk; wd. thigh B. B.; k. Ant.
- Albert Everett, p.; b. res. cr. Sutton; 21; s.; shoemaker; corp. May 1, '63; wd. in arm Gett.; m. o. July 15, '64.
- Harlow Fairbanks, p.; b. Worcester, res. cr. Douglas; 20; s.; axe-maker; corp. Jan. 16, '62; wd. thigh, foot F. O.; dis. Aug. 29, '62.
- George F. Fletcher, p.; b. unknown; m. i. July 31, '62; 18; s.; mechanic; corp. Jan. 1, '63; wd. face Ant.; k. Gett.
- James B. Fletcher, corp.; 21; s.; clerk; k. Ant.
- Andrew W. Garside, p.; b. res. cr. Uxbridge; 23; s.; machinist; corp. Nov. 1, '62; pris. wd. head May 6, '64; acting color sergt. Wilderness; d. pris. Nov. 15, '64.
- Lamson A. Seagrave, corp.; b. res. cr. Uxbridge; 21; s.; mechanic; wd. leg. Ant.; m. o.
- William Addison, musician; b. Scotland; 42; m.; laborer; dis. Jan. 23, '62.
- Robert W. Graham, musician; b. Ireland; 24; s.; machinist; dis. Nov. 5, '62.

Angelo A. M. Hale, corp.; b. East Douglas; 21; s.; machinist; drummer; dis. Jan. 24, '63.
 Stillman C. Newell, wagoner; b. Troy, N.Y.; 21; s.; butcher; tr. V.R.C. Nov. 20, '63; m. o. July 25, '64.

PRIVATES.

Andrew Addison, b. Scotland, res. cr. Worcester; m. i. July 22, '62; 18; machinist; k. Ant.
 James Addison, b. Scotland; 20; s.; machinist; des. Sept. 1, '62.
 Henry W. Ainsworth, b. Millbury; m. i. Aug. 6, '62; 24; clerk; k. Ant.
 Horace M. Allen, b. Connecticut, res. cr. Sutton; m. i. Aug. 4, '62; 40; m.; blacksmith; tr. V.R.C. March 15, '64; m. o. July 29, '64.
 James Allen, b. Canton; 22; s.; shoemaker; k. B. B.
 Edmund C. Arnold, b. res. cr. Uxbridge; 21; s.; painter; lost arm B. B.; dis. April 12, '62.
 Nathan S. Arnold, b. Uxbridge, res. cr. Sutton; 24; s.; stove-maker; dis. April 27, '62.
 Henry Baker, b. unknown, res. Needham, cr. Dana; m. i. March 22, '64; 18; s.; laborer; dis. June 30, '64.
 Charles E. Barnes, b. unknown, res. cr. Brookfield; m. i. Jan. 24, '62; 18; s.; farmer; dis. Oct. 21, '62.
 O. W. Batchelor, b. res. cr. Sutton; 18; s.; machinist; k. Ant.
 William H. Batchelor, b. Millbury; 19; s.; wheelwright; wd. foot '62; dis. Dec. 26, '62.
 Charles E. Beaman (Braman), b. Grafton, res. cr. Uxbridge; 21; s.; carder; wd. hand June 27, '62; dis. Dec. 20, '62.
 William Bixby, b. unknown; m. i. July 25, '61; 23; s.; butcher; q. m. sergt. May 1, '62; 1st lieut. and q. m. July 5, '63; m. o.
 Edward M. Bliss, b. unknown, res. cr. Worcester; m. i. Jan. 13, '62; 22; s.; farmer; wd. lungs Ant.; dis. Dec. 22, '62.
 Dexter Brown, b. Providence, R. I.; 23; s.; shoemaker; d. Dec. 16, '62.
 Joseph Brown, b. unknown; m. i. July 29, '62; 18; s.; farmer; tr. V.R.C. March 15, '64; m. o. July 12, '64.
 James Burgess, b. Providence, R. I.; m. i. July 25, '61; 42; m.; boot-treer; dis. Jan. 31, '62.
 C. P. B. Burrows, b. Providence, R. I.; 20; s.; clerk; dis. Aug. 25, '61.
 Jonathan C. Burrows, b. unknown; m. i. Dec. 2, '61; 30; m.; bootmaker; dis. Dec. 31, '61; reën. Co. A, 34th Regt., Dec. 8, '63; tr. to 24th Regt. June 14, '65, as corp.; des. Dec. 5, '65.
 William F. Carpenter, b. Providence, R. I.; res. cr. Sutton; m. i. July 25, '61; 20; s.; student; dis. June 4, '62.
 Alvin L. Carr, m. i. July 25, '61; 25; s.; machinist; m. o.
 Jerome M. Carr, b. Blackstone; 20; s.; machinist; m. o.
 James H. Chadwick, b. unknown, res. cr. Webster; m. i. July 29, '62; 23; m.; machinist; wd. legs Ant.; dis. Oct. 25, '62.
 Winsor Chamberlain, res. cr. Upton; 18; s.; bootmaker; wd. breast Gett.; tr. V.R.C. Feb. 15, '64; m. o. July 26, '64.
 Henry Chapman, b. Ireland, res. cr. Uxbridge; 23; s.; spinner; m. o.
 John Clancy, b. Ireland; res. cr. Upton; 23; s.; bootmaker; pris. B. B.; dis. Oct. 20, '62.
 William J. Cole, b. Columbia, Texas; res. cr. Uxbridge; 22; s.; machinist; wd. leg B. B.; d. May 10, '64.
 Adin A. Colvin, b. unknown; m. i. July 29, '62; 23; s.; shoemaker; wd. side Ant.; wd. arm Gett.; m. o. as ab. sick, G. O. 28.

- J. G. Cummings, b. Sutton; 36; s.; carder; wd. finger '62; dis. Jan. 15, '63.
 D. L. Dana, b. Webster, res. cr. Sutton; 21; s.; shoemaker; wd. foot B. B.; dis. '62; d. Nov. 4, '62, on way home.
 Francis M. Davis, b. unknown, res. cr. Webster; m. i. July 29, '62; 39; m.; school-teacher; tr. V.R.C. July 1, '63; m. o. July 21, '64, G. O. 28.
 Richard Dowling, b. Ireland, res. cr. Brookfield; m. i. Jan. 20, '62; 21; s.; farmer; wd. shoulder Ant.; tr. V.R.C. Sept. 11, '63.
 Elbridge Donovan, b. Norwich, Ct.; 20; s.; machinist tr. V.R.C. March 15, '64; m. o.
 Reuben S. Dorr, b. res. cr. Sutton; 18; s.; shoemaker; tr. V.R.C. Jan. 15, '64; m. o. July 20, '64.
 Henry W. Dunn, b. unknown, res. cr. Charlton; m. i. July 30, '62; 19; s.; farmer; wd. head Ant.; wd. leg May '64; d. May 21, '64.
 James F. Dunn, b. unknown; m. i. July 29, '62; 18; s.; farmer; d. Feb. 7, '63.
 Samuel Emerson, b. unknown, res. cr. Webster; m. i. July 29, '62; 30; m.; blacksmith; wd. neck Ant.; d. wds. Sept. 26, '62.
 Henry M. Engly, b. Waterford, R. I.; res. cr. Uxbridge; m. i. Jan. 24, '62; 22; s.; farmer; d. July 3, '62.
 James Ennis, b. Ireland; 24; s.; harnessmaker; dis. Aug. 25, '61.
 Daniel R. Farris, b. unknown, res. cr. Uxbridge; m. i. Dec. 2, '61; 43; m.; farmer; dis. March 16, '62.
 William Ferris, b. Ireland, res. cr. Worcester; m. i. July 7, '62; 23; operative; wd. breast '62; dis. March 30, '63.
 James S. Flanigan, b. Ireland; 44; m.; machinist; pris. Ant.; m. o.
 John W. Foster, b. Taunton; 21; s.; machinist; pris. B. B.; dis. July 29, '62.
 John Francher, b. St. Johnsboro, N.Y.; res. cr. Millbury; m. i. Jan. 24, '62; 23; m.; machinist; dis. Nov. 25, '62.
 Patrick Finegan, b. Ireland, res. cr. Worcester; m. i. Jan. 20, '62; 18; s.; operative; k. Ant.
 Michael Gallavan, b. Ireland, res. Cambridge, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. Aug. 1, '63; 31; s.; gardener; des. Sept. 5, '63.
 John S. Gates, b. Worcester; 37; dis. Oct. 1, '61.
 Frank Graichen. See Co. C. Dis. Co. H May 2, '62.
 Lewis Hairl, m. i. July 25, '61; 20; s.; currier; wd. shoulder B. B.; d. Nov. 5, '61.
 Edgar Hall, b. res. cr. Willimantic, Ct.; m. i. Jan. 18, '62; 23; s.; painter.
 Francis Hanley, b. Ireland, res. cr. Northboro; m. i. July 27, '62; 27; m.; yeoman; wd. shoulder F. O.; d. July 5, '62.
 Franklin L. Hayden, b. Bellingham, res. cr. Uxbridge; m. i. Jan. 21, '62; 18; s.; farmer; wd. chest Ant.; d. wds. Sept. 27, '62.
 Edward G. Hewitt, res. cr. Sutton; 20; s.; painter; pris. B. B.; wd. face F. O.; dis. Feb. 18, '63.
 Benjamin S. Hill, b. unknown, res. cr. Upton; m. i. July 30, '62; 25; s.; farmer; m. o. G. O. 28, as ab. sick.
 John Hirst, b. England; 22; s.; machinist; pris. B. B.; m. o.
 Thomas Horn, b. New Brunswick, res. cr. Upton; 22; s.; shoemaker; pris. B. B.; pris., wd. leg Ant.; k. Gett.
 Charles Johnson, b. Worcester; 26; m.; miller; tr. Signal Corps, Jan. 12, '64.
 Levi F. Jose, b. Saco, Me.; res. cr. Upton; 23; m.; shoemaker; dis. Nov. 3, '62.
 Damon C. Judd, b. Glen Falls, N. Y.; res. cr. Sutton; 18; s.; shoemaker; wd. leg B. B., shoulder Ant.; dis. Jan. 8, '63.
 Eugene Keith, 21; s.; machinist; k. B. B.

- Timothy Kennedy, b. Ireland; 18; s.; d. Nov. 4, '62.
- Theodore Lawton, b. Mainjoink, Penn.; 28; s.; machinist; dis. Sept. 18, '62.
- Peter Luck, b. Germany, res. cr. Worcester; m. i. Jan. 6, '62; 38; s.; soldier; tr. V.R.C. Oct. 7, '63; m. o. Jan. 9, '65.
- Thomas Magomery, b. Ireland, res. cr. Worcester; m. i. July 22, '62; 19; machinist; wd. Ant.; d. wds. Oct. 4, '62.
- John Mahoney, b. res. cr. unknown; sub.; m. i. July 17, '63; 22; laborer; des.
- William Mann, b. Blackstone, res. cr. Sutton; 19; s.; shoemaker; k. B.B.
- Isaac E. Marshall, b. Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; 20; s.; machinist; k. Ant.
- Archibald McLean, b. res. Scotland, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. Aug. 1, '63; 28; s.; planter; tr. Co. G, 20th; m. o. as on det. serv.
- Alfred McGinnis, b. unknown, res. cr. Blackstone; 22; s.; spinner; dis. Sept. 1, '62.
- David J. Messenger, b. Upton; 22; s.; carpenter; pris., wd. B. B.; d. as pris. from amputation of leg soon after B. B.
- James C. Moor, b. New Brunswick, res. cr. Milford; m. i. Jan. 24, '62; 19; s.; farmer; wd. back Ant.; des. hospital, '62.
- John F. Moor, b. New Brunswick, res. cr. Milford; m. i. Jan. 24, '62; 21; s.; farmer; wd. thigh Ant.; des. hospital, '62.
- John Morath, b. Germany, res. cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. Aug. 1, '63; 19; m.; sailor; wd. May '64; tr. Co. G, 20th, as ab. wd.; m. o. as ab. sick.
- Arnold Mowry, b. res. cr. Uxbridge; m. i. Jan. 20, '62; 25; s.; farmer; d. April 24, '62.
- Dennis Murphy, b. Ireland, res. cr. Upton; 21; s.; shoemaker; pris. B. B.; dis. May 8, '63.
- Jonathan E. Nichols, m. i. July 20, '61; 37; m.; shoemaker; dis. March 6, '62.
- Henry J. Nourse, b. Boston, res. cr. Marlboro; m. i. July 25, '61; 19; s.; machinist; m. o.
- John J. O'Connell, b. Ireland, res. unknown, cr. Rockport; sub.; m. i. Aug. 5, '63; 21; s.; seaman; pris. June 22, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th, as pris.; d. Nov. 27, '64, as pris.
- Joseph O'Neill, b. Ireland, res. unknown, cr. Ashfield; sub.; m. i. July 5, '63; 22; boiler-maker; wd. May '64; tr. Co. G, 20th, as ab. wd.; m. o. as ab. wd.
- Timothy O'Sullivan, b. unknown; m. i. Aug. 4, '62; 40; m.; fireman; m. o.
- Ira H. Parker, b. Uxbridge; m. i. Aug. 6, '62; 21; s.; clerk; wd. thigh Ant.; tr. V.R.C. Nov. 15, '63; m. o. Aug. 13, '64.
- John W. Peabody, b. Massachusetts, res. Middleboro, cr. Gloucester; sub.; m. i. Aug. 4, '63; 19; s.; farmer; pris. June 22, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th, as pris.; dis. May 29, '65.
- William H. Perkins, b. unknown, res. Canada, cr. Amherst; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 24; s.; lithographer; des. Aug. 20, '63.
- J. L. Pierce, b. unknown, res. cr. Worcester; m. i. July 25, '61; 22; wd. fingers B. B.; dis. Oct. 9, '62.
- E. B. Pitts, b. Millville; 23; s.; mechanic; wd. thigh B.B.; dis. Nov. 30, '62.
- George W. Pitts, b. res. New Brunswick, cr. Taunton; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 28; m.; book-binder; tr. Co. G, 20th, as on det. serv.
- Frederick Pontius, b. Germany, res. New York City, cr. Somerset; sub.; m. i. July 29, '63; 29; m.; chair-maker; pris. June '64; tr. Co. G, 20th, as pris.; d. Oct. '64, as pris.
- Nelson L. A. Pratt, b. res. cr. Clinton; m. i. Aug. 7, '61; 21; s.; stone-cutter; m. o. dishonorably Oct. 24, '63.

- Ebenezer Prest (Priest), b. England; 23; s.; machinist; wd. hand Ant.; dis. Dec. 29, '62.
- Jerome Prince, b. Woonsocket, R.I.; 19; s.; shoemaker; wd. finger B.B.; dis. Feb. 28, '62; reën. Co. E, 42d Regt., Sept. 30, '62; m. o. Aug. 20, '63.
- Nathaniel Putnam, m. i. July 24, '61; 20; s.; shoemaker; d. Oct. 10, '62.
- James Quinn, b. Albany, N. Y.; res. Greenfield, cr. Berlin; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 23; s.; carriage-trimmer; tr. Co. G, 20th, as pris. d. July 29, '64, as pris.
- Peter Quinn, b. unknown, res. cr. Greenfield; sub.; m. i. Aug. 5, '63; 20; seaman; des.
- Charles Raphael, b. res. Prussia, cr. Sandwich; sub.; m. i. July 31, '63; 23; m.; tinsmith; wd. May 12, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th; m. o.
- James Ray, b. Canada, res. cr. Abington; sub.; m. i. Aug. 5, '63; 21; s.; laborer; wd. May 6, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th, as ab. wd.; m. o. as ab. wd.
- Charles A. Reed, b. Grafton, res. cr. Upton; m. i. Jan. 20, '62; 19; s.; shoemaker; wd. hand Ant.; k. Gett.
- George Riley, b. res. Canada, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. July 16, '63; 26; s.; sailor; tr. navy April 23, '64.
- Charles Ritter, b. Germany, res. cr. North Bridgewater; sub.; m. i. Aug. 5, '63; wd. May '64; tr. Co. G, 20th, as ab. wd.; m. o. as ab. wd.
- James Roach, b. New York City, res. unknown, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. Aug. 1, '63; 21; s.; laborer; wd. arm May '64; tr. Co. K, 20th, as ab. wd.; m. o. June 15, '65.
- John Roberts, b. New Brunswick, res. unknown; cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. July 28, '63; 21; s.; blacksmith; des. Sept. 3, '63; shot for des. Oct. 30, '63.
- Richard Rogers, b. Fall River; 21; s.; moulder; dis. Oct. 25, '61.
- Alfred Rolle, b. France, res. cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. July 18, '63; 27; s.; sailor; wd. May, '64; tr. Co. H, 20th, as ab. wd.
- Stephen W. Russell, b. unknown, res. cr. Webster; m. i. July 29, '62; 37; m.; mechanic; wd. arm May '64; m. o. G. O. 28.
- John Ryan, b. Ireland, res. N. S.; cr. Charlestown; sub.; m. i. July 29, '63; 30; s.; laborer; wd. May 6, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th; m. o. as ab. wd.
- Willard W. Sawyer, b. Auburn, res. cr. Uxbridge; 18; s.; painter; wd. lung B. B.; dis. Aug. 7, '62.
- George F. Seaver, b. Brandy Hill, Ct.; 21; s.; machinist; k. B. B.
- Charles N. Shumway, b. unknown, res. cr. Webster; m. i. July 29, '62; 22; s.; mechanic; wd. foot Gett.; m. o. G. O. 28.
- Samuel Sibley, b. Oakham, res. cr. Sutton; 40; m.; miller; wd. leg B. B.; d. wds. Nov. 6, '61.
- Charles D. Smith, b. Farmington, Me.; res. cr. Sutton; m. i. July 25, '61; 24; s.; bootmaker; wd. leg Ant.; d. Sept. 27, '62, wds.
- George N. Smith, b. Waterford, R. I.; 19; s.; machinist; k. Ant.
- Stephen W. Smith, b. res. cr. Mendon; 24; m.; shoemaker; tr. V.R.C. Jan. 15, '64.
- Thomas Snow, b. Schaghticoke, N. Y.; res. cr. Douglas; 18; s.; axemaker; tr. V. R. C. Sept. 3, '63; reën. V.R.C. April 14, '64; m. o. Nov. 10, '65.
- Thomas A. Southwick, b. Uxbridge, res. cr. Douglas; 22; m.; mechanic; wd. thigh B. B.; dis. for wds.
- George H. Spring, b. Grafton; 21; s.; carder; dis. April 29, '62.
- Charles H. Stone, b. Coventry, R. I.; res. cr. Upton; 42; m.; laborer; wd. shoulder B. B.; dis. March 1, '62.
- Simon Sullivan, b. Farmington, M.; res. cr. Milford; m. i. July 23, '61; 20; s.; bootmaker; wd. hand Ant.; dis. Oct. 21, '62.

George A. Tanner, b. unknown, res. cr. Webster; m. i. July 29, '62; 22; m.; mechanic; dis. Oct. 8, '62.
 J. P. Thurber, b. Thompson, Ct.; 26; s.; spinner; dis. Feb. 28, '63.
 Ferrill Toomey, b. Ireland, res. cr. Uxbridge; 23; s.; laborer; dis. Aug. 27, '61.
 B. F. Underwood, b. New York City; res. cr. Stony Creek, Ct.; 22; s.; stone-cutter; pris. B. B.; dis. Oct. 4, '62.
 George L. Vibbert, b. West Boylston, res. cr. Uxbridge; 20; s.; porter; wd. groin Nov. 27, '63; pris. June 22, '64; m. o. May 22, '65.
 Thomas Wately, b. New York City; 21; s.; machinist; wd. leg B.B.; dis. Oct. 23, '62, to reën. 6th Cav., Oct. 27, '62.
 Franklin Waterman, b. New Bedford; 19; s.; machinist; d. June 11, '62.
 George F. Wellington, b. res. cr. Upton; m. i. Jan. 20, '62; 18; s.; shoe-maker; wd. Ant.; tr. Co. K, 20th; m. o. Jan. 20, '65.
 Lorenzo S. Wheelock, b. Grafton, res. cr. Mendon; m. i. Jan. 24, '63; 25; s.; farmer; wd. leg Ant.; tr. V.R.C. Sept. 6, '63; m. o. Jan. 24, '65.
 Henry C. Whipple, b. Woonsocket, R. I.; 21; s.; machinist; dis. April 23, '62.
 J. S. Williams, b. Boston, res. cr. Bolton; m. i. July 25, '61; 28; m.; farmer; pris. B. B.; wd. hand Ant.; dis. Feb. 4, '63.
 Silas H. Williams, b. Suffield, Vt.; m. i. Jan. 22, '62; 27; m.; bootmaker; wd. elbow Ant.; dis. Jan. 24, '63.
 William Burns, b. res. cr. unknown; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 27; des. before joined regt.
 William H. Williams, m. i. July 25, '61; 25; s.; machinist; dis. Nov. 4, '62.
 Franklin Wilson, b. Worcester; m. i. Feb. 25, '62; 19; s.; machinist; des. Nov. 1, '62.

COMPANY I.

The members of this company were natives of Webster, and were credited on the quota of that town unless it is otherwise stated in each particular. For the history of this company before the date of muster, see pages 27-29. This company was mustered August 5, 1861, unless otherwise stated. The muster-in roll, however, has no date but August 8.

James R. Young, capt. in Slater Guards, never m. into the serv. of U. S.
 George C. Joslin. See Field Off. Capt. Co. I until Feb. 6, '63.
 Adoniram J. Bradley, p.; m. i. Oct. 16, '61; b. unknown, res. cr. Russell; 34; m.; farmer; 2d lieut. May 21, '62; 1st lieut. Sept. 19, '62; capt. Jan. 22, '63, m. March 1, '63; wd. Ant.; wd. face Dec. 15, '62; re. Nov. 21, '63.
 James May. See Co. B. Capt. Nov. 22, '63, ass. Co. I.
 Amos Bartlett, 1st lieut.; 25; s.; teacher; capt. May 21, '62, ass. Co. H; wd. Ant.; re. Jan. 7, '63.
 Frank S. Corbin, 2d lieut.; b. Dudley; 20; s.; shoemaker; 1st lieut. May 21, '62; k. Ant.
 Joshua Freeman. See Co. C. 1st lieut. Co. I April 28, '64.
 Charles H. Stevens. See Co. A. 1st lieut. Co. I April 10, '63.
 David M. Earle. See Co. F. 2d lieut. Co. I April 16, '63.
 Pliny M. George, corp.; b. Cambridge; 22; s.; shoemaker; 1st sergt.; 2d lieut. Sept. 28, '62; 1st lieut. Jan. 22, '63, ass. Co. G; wd. Ant.; re. April 15, '64.

Alexander Bryson, p.; b. Malone, N.Y.; 26; s.; 1st sergt.; wd. side Gett.; tr. 20th as on det. serv.

William Brandes, p.; b. Hanover; 18; s.; shoemaker; sergt.; k. Gett.
C. W. Briggs, p.; b. Windham, Ct.; 19; s.; jeweller; corp. Dec. 19, '61; sergt.; wd. head Ant.; dis. March 7, '64.

Patrick Harty, p.; b. Ireland, res. cr. Worcester; 18; s.; wire-drawer; corp.; sergt.; wd. foot Ant.; wd. thigh Gett.; reën. Feb. 21, '64; pris. June 22, '64; tr. Co. F, 20th, as pris.; m. o. June 2, '65.

Avery N. Hathaway, p.; b. unknown, res. cr. Windsor; m. i. Oct. 18, '61; 28; s.; farmer; sergt. '63; wd. hip, side Gett.; d. July 24, '63.

Patrick C. Lanning, p.; b. Ireland; 26; s.; moulder; sergt.; wd. arm Ant.; dis. March 12, '63.

Robert F. Lavery, p.; b. Newport, R. I.; res. cr. Worcester; 40; s.; boot-maker; sergt.; wd. head Ant.; dis. Jan. 13, '63.

George W. Lewis, b. Plainfield, Ct.; 30; m.; laborer; pris. B. B.; m. o. Aug. 6, '64.

William H. Palmer, sergt.; 30; m.; shoemaker; pris. B. B.; d. May 6, '64.
Edwin L. Parmenter, corp.; b. Boston; 25; s.; operative; pris. B. B.; wd. head Ant.; d. Oct. 15, '62.

Rufus F. Raymond, b. Dudley; 25; s.; shoemaker; dis. Aug. '61.

Moses J. Warren, sergt.; b. England; 33; m.; spinner; wd. B. B.; d. Oct. 25, '61.

Edson D. Bemis, p.; b. res. cr. Middlefield; 21; s.; farmer; m. i. Oct. 14, '61; corp.; wd. hand Ant.; reën. Feb. 2, '64; wd. abdomen May '64; tr. Co. E, 20th, as ab. wd.; m. o. July 13, '65.

Thomas Blasland, corp.; b. Boston; 31; s.; operative; wd. leg Ant.; d. Dec. 25, '63.

Whitman W. Bosworth, corp.; b. Woodstock, Ct.; 22; s.; painter; pris. B. B.; m. o. Aug. 6, '64.

Joseph Holland, corp.; b. Cambridge, res. cr. Thompson. Ct.; 21; s.; laborer; m. in a. Oct. 21, '61; d. Nov. 21, '62.

Henry Rusack, corp.; b. Hanover; 27; m.; shoemaker; pris. B. B.; wd. Gett.; tr. V.R.C. Jan. 15, '64.

S. A. Slocum, b. unknown, res. cr. Millbury; m. i. Dec. 2, '61; 21; s.; student; corp.; dis. Jan. 22, '63.

Albert H. Snow, p.; b. Tolland, Ct.; m. i. March 7, '62; 19; s.; farmer; wd. head Ant.; k. Gett.

John Sullivan, corp.; b. res. England; cr. Marblehead; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 21; s.; baker.

Joseph H. Wood, corp.; b. Uxbridge; 24; m.; shoemaker; des. Nov. '63.

Henry S. Dealing, wagoner; b. New Haven, Ct.; res. cr. Oxford; 32; m.; teamster; dis. '62.

PRIVATES.

Marcus M. Aldrich, b. unknown; m. i. Aug. 8, '61; 29; s.; dis. Dec. 14, '62.
Henry L. Amidon, b. Cumberland, R. I.; 19; s.; operative; k. Ant.

Isaac G. Bacheider, b. Eaton, N. H.; res. Denmark, M.; cr. Georgetown; m. i. April 15, '64; 35; m.; farmer; tr. Co. E, 20th, as ab. sick; m. o. as ab. sick.

Philetus Ballou, b. Canada, res. cr. Fitchburg; 39; m.; carpenter; pris. B. B.; dis. Dec. 11, '62.

Oscar Baltey, b. unknown, res. cr. Millbury; m. i. Dec. 2, '61; 27; m.; bootmaker; dis. Oct. 8, '62.

- James Barker, b. Ireland; 20; s.; laborer; dis. Aug. 10, '62.
- Charles W. Bean, b. res. Brentwood, N. H.; cr. Yarmouth; m. i. March 10, '64; 21; s.; farmer; wd. foot May '64; tr. Co. E, 20th, as ab. wd. m. o.
- Jacob Bender, Jr., b. Prussia; 23; s.; wheelwright; wd. hand, leg Ant.; dis. March 5, '63.
- Kennedy Benway, b. unknown, res. cr. Worcester; m. i. July 29, '62; 25; operative; dis. Feb. 2, '64.
- Elisha T. Bigelow, b. Griswold, Ct.; 18; s.; shoemaker; d. July 7, '62.
- Frank S. Bixby, b. res. unknown, cr. Poolesville, Md.; m. i. Dec. 19, '61; 21; volunteered for Western Flotilla Feb. 17, '62; dis. Dec. 2, '62.
- George H. Bliss, b. unknown, res. cr. Windsor; m. i. Oct. 14, '61; 20; s.; wagon-maker; dis. June 11, '62.
- Lucius H. Briggs, b. Providence, R. I.; 18; s.; printer; k. Ant.
- Charles Buck, b. Douglas; 18; s.; laborer; d. Sept. 27, '62.
- Joseph Burdsley, b. unknown, res. cr. Grafton; m. i. July 28, '62; 37; m.; spinner; wd. leg Ant.; k. Gett.
- Hiram Burnham, b. unknown, res. cr. Windsor; m. i. Oct. 14, '61; 41; m.; farmer; dis. Sept. 26, '62.
- George Butler, b. Ireland; 19; s.; shoemaker; k. Ant.
- Henry Butler, b. Vermont; 20; s.; shoemaker; pris. B. B.; wd. leg Ant.; d. Nov. 14, '62.
- Dyer D. Cady, b. Dudley; 18; s.; shoemaker; wd. Gett.; tr. Co. E, 20th, as on det. serv.; m. o. Aug. 6, '64.
- Thomas Cassidy, b. Ireland, res. cr. Worcester; 38; s.; operative; k. B. B.
- Orsemas G. Chapman, b. unknown, res. cr. Russell; m. i. Oct. 17, '61; 35; m.; farmer; wd. Ant.; d. Sept. 22, '62.
- William S. Chapman, b. unknown, res. cr. Russell; m. i. Oct. 17, '61; 28; m.; farmer; k. Ant.
- Henry H. Clapp, 18; s.; shoemaker; pris. B. B.; tr. Co. E, 20th; m. o. April 28, '65.
- Merrick L. Clark, b. unknown, res. cr. Peru; m. i. Oct. 29, '61; 18; s.; farmer; k. May 12, '64.
- Elmon D. Clements, b. unknown; 19; shoemaker; dis. Nov. 22, '62.
- Milo S. Converse, b. Schroon, N.Y.; 19; s.; operative; wd. leg, hand F. O.; reën. U. S. A. Jan. 5, '63.
- William F. Converse, b. Schroon, N.Y.; 20; s.; operative; pris. B. B.; d. rebel prison.
- Morgan Cooley, b. unknown, res. cr. Russell; m. i. Oct. 22, '61; 44; m.; farmer; dis. March 20, '63.
- Rufus E. Corbin, b. Dudley; m. i. July 12, '61; 19; s.; laborer; pris. B. B.; wd. hand Gett.; tr. V.R.C. March 15, '64; m. o. Nov. 15, '65.
- Luman H. Cummings, b. res. unknown, cr. Thompson, Ct.; 22; m. o.
- Michael Cunningham, b. Ireland; 21; s.; teamster; wd. leg Ant.; dis. Feb. 23, '63.
- Edward Daley, b. Northampton; 18; m.; operative; m. o. Aug. 5, '64.
- Gustave H. Darbers, b. Germany; 37; m.; operative; dis. April 25, '62.
- Edward L. Day, b. unknown, res. cr. Windsor; m. i. Oct. 16, '61; 42; m.; farmer; wd. leg Ant.; d. Ant. Sept. 20, '62.
- Daniel R. Dorr; b. Ireland; res. unknown, cr. Worcester; never left state.
- Joseph C. Dowd, b. Ireland, res. Boston, cr. Taunton; m. i. March 10, '64; 21; s.; laborer; pris. June 22, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th, as pris.; m. o. as pris.
- C. P. Dustin, b. unknown, res. cr. Russell; m. i. Dec. 5, '61; 41; m.; farmer; dis. April 18, '62.

- Charles G. Foster, b. unknown; m. i. July 29, '62; 18; s.; shoemaker; k. Ant.
- Charles F. Gage, b. Franklin, N. Y.; m. i. March 10, '62; 18; s.; boot-maker; wd. leg Ant.; dis. Jan. 10, '63.
- James Gardner, b. England; 38; m.; weaver; wd. leg '62; dis. Nov. 11, '62.
- John J. Geary, b. Ireland; 21; m.; operative; tr. Signal Corps Aug. 20, '63.
- Francis Geelin, b. Ireland, res. cr. Millbury; 28; m.; spinner; wd. leg B. B.; dis. May 2, '62.
- Josiah Gleason, b. res. Sudbury, cr. Marshfield; m. i. April 14, '64; 38; s.; farmer; wd. June 22, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th; m. o. July 20, '65.
- John Grady, b. Ireland; 19; m.; shoemaker; k. Gett.
- Edward F. Green, b. unknown, res. cr. Worcester; m. i. July 31, '62; 28; s.; bootmaker; dis. Nov. 17, '62.
- Lucius H. Green, b. Canterbury, Ct.; res. cr. Worcester; 22; m.; laborer; wd. hand Gett.; tr. V.R.C. Nov. 15, '63.
- Ezra L. Greenleaf, b. Northwood, N. H.; res. Pittsfield, N. H.; cr. Marshfield; m. i. April 14, '64; 26; s.; shoemaker; wd. May '64; tr. Co. G, 20th, as ab. sick; m. o. as ab. sick.
- Henry Groh, b. Germany; 21; m.; shoemaker; pris. B. B.; dis. Feb. 4, '63.
- Daniel Guilfoyle, b. Ireland, res. cr. Worcester; m. i. March 31, '64; 32; s.; boot-treer; tr. Co. G, 20th; d. Dec. 15, '65, as pris.
- William F. Hardy, b. unknown; m. i. July 29, '62; 18; s.; operative; wd. hand Ant.; dis. Nov. 29, '62.
- George Hatfield, b. England; m. i. Aug. 1, '61; 36; m.; spinner; pris. B. B.; des. Nov. 2, '62.
- Henry Hathaway, b. unknown, res. cr. Windsor; m. i. Oct. 14, '61; 23; s.; farmer; wd. leg Ant.; d. Ant. Sept. 20, '62.
- Napoleon Haven, b. cr. unknown; m. i. Dec. 12, '61; 20; s.; weaver; no further record.
- George A. Hawley, b. Springfield, res. cr. Windsor; m. i. Oct. 15, '64; 27; s.; farmer; wd. Nov. 27, '63; tr. Co. G, 20th; m. o. Dec. 10, '64.
- Patrick Healey, b. Ireland; 18; m.; operative; pris. B. B.; tr. 20th.
- Alfred B. Heath, b. Suffield, Ct.; res. cr. Russell; m. i. Dec. 5, '61; 36; s.; farmer; pris. June 22, '64; wd. April '62; tr. Co. G, 20th, as pris.; m. o. May 26, '65.
- Thomas Henry, b. Ireland; 30; m.; shoemaker; wd. Ant.; wd. arm, breast Gett.; tr. V.R.C.
- Alfred F. Hinckley, b. Stephentown; N. Y.; res. cr. Windsor; m. i. Oct. 14, '61; 22; s.; farmer; d. wds. Oct. 14, '63.
- John Hollin, b. Scotland; 21; m.; painter; pris. B. B.; ex.; no further record.
- John Irving, b. Ireland; 25; m.; laborer; des. Aug. 11, '61.
- Peter Johnson, b. Sweden; 25; m.; sailor; wd. hand Ant.; tr. V.R.C. Aug. 23, '63.
- Emory W. Joy, b. Thompson, Ct.; 18; m.; clerk; wd.; reën. Feb. 8, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th, as on det. serv.; m. o.
- William H. Joy, b. England; 26; m.; machinist; wd. foot '62; dis. Aug. 15, '63, as of Co. E.
- John Kelley, b. Ireland; 24; s.; spinner; pris. B. B.; wd. Gett.; tr. V.R.C. Feb. 15, '64.
- Oliver King, b. unknown; 19; never left state.
- James O. Ladd, b. unknown, res. cr. Windsor; m. i. Oct. 16, '61; 18; s.; farmer; wd. arm Ant.; dis. Jan. 10, '63.
- Otis K. Ladd, b. unknown, res. Hinsdale, cr. Orange; m. i. Aug. 12, '62; 27; m.; farmer; tr. V.R.C.; m. o. Aug. 19, '64.

- Edward Lanigan, b. Ireland; res. cr. Millbury; 18; s.; operative; wd. neck F. O.; dis. Sept. 11, '62.
- Mike Lanigan, b. Ireland, res. cr. Millbury; 18; s.; operative; wd. breast Gett.; tr. V.R.C. Nov. 25, '63; m. o. Nov. 16, '65.
- Andrew Laverty, b. Great Falls, N.Y.; res. cr. Millbury; 25; m.; carpenter; d. March 8, '62.
- William H. Laverty, b. Great Falls, N. H.; res. cr. Worcester; 32; m.; machinist; tr. V.R.C. Feb. 15, '64; m. o. Aug. 6, '64.
- John McGuire, b. Ireland; 20; s.; shoemaker; wd. foot F. O.; tr. V.R.C. April 10, '64.
- John Magee, b. Lubeck, Me.; res. cr. Uxbridge; 26; s.; shoemaker; dis. June 12, '63.
- Patrick Mahar, b. Ireland; 20; weaver. Never left state.
- James Mahoney, res. cr. Oxford; 30; m.; shoemaker; dis. Nov. 1, '62.
- James Maley, b. unknown; 23; s.; printer; pris. B. B.; m. o. Aug. 6, '64.
- Charles H. Mellen, 21; s.; shoemaker; wd. Gett.; wd. May '64; m. o. Aug. 6, '64.
- George W. Mirick, b. Princeton, res. cr. Worcester; 18; s.; clerk; tr. Co. 1, 20th; m. o. Aug. 5, '64.
- William H. Mitchell, b. unknown, res. cr. Worcester; m. i. July 29, '62; 42; operative; dis. Jan. 20, '63.
- Patrick Mulvaney, b. Ireland, res. Worcester, cr. Dana; m. i. April 9, '64; 22; s.; hostler; pris. June 22, '64; d. Dec. 10, '64, as pris.; tr. Co. G, 20th, as pris.
- Charles Murray, b. Canada East; 19; s.; drawer; wd. hand Gett.; dis. Feb. 20, '64.
- Vernon Negur, 18; s.; shoemaker; pris. B. B.; wd. thigh Gett.; wd. hand May '64; m. o. Aug. 6, '64.
- Thomas O'Connor, b. Ireland; 39; s.; spinner; pris., m. in a. B. B.
- Elbridge Parks, b. res. cr. Dudley; 19; s.; shoemaker; des. Aug. 28, '62.
- Antoine Phillips, b. Italy; res. cr. Oxford; 44; m.; cook; d. as pris.
- Patrick Pendergast, b. Ireland; 19; s.; operative. Never left state.
- Albert T. Pomeroy, b. res. cr. Swanzey, N. H.; 24; s.; laborer; dis. Aug. 25, '61.
- Michael Powers, b. unknown, res. cr. Oxford; 18; s.; laborer. Never left state.
- Jackson Prool, b. Ossipee, N. H.; res. cr. Millbury; 30; m.; operative; tr. V.R.C. Feb. 15, '64; m. o. Aug. 9, '64.
- Hiram J. Raymond, 18; s.; shoemaker; pris. B. B.; wd. leg Ant.; dis. Dec. 11, '62.
- Thomas Redfern, b. England; 30; s.; weaver; dis.
- Godfried Reidman, b. Germany; 44; m.; mason; wd. leg. Ant.; d. wds. Ant. Sept. 30, '62.
- Lewis O. Reilly, b. Ireland; 24; operative; dis. Nov. 14, '62.
- Alpheus Remick, b. Maine, res. cr. Grafton; m. i. Feb. 10, '62; 28; m.; ship-builder; wd. hand F. O.; d. Feb. 27, '64.
- Augustus Remick, b. res. unknown, cr. Worcester; wd. breast B. B.; dis. April 7, '62.
- Levi Remick, b. unknown, res. cr. Sutton; m. i. Feb. 10, '62; 26; m.; shoemaker; m. o. Feb. 13, '65.
- Terrence Riley, b. Ireland, res. Boston, cr. Rochester; m. i. March 11, '64; 26; s.; carpenter; wd. May '64; tr. Co. K, 20th, as ab. sick; m. o. No record after May 24, '64.
- Charles H. Rugg, b. unknown, res. cr. Uxbridge; 39; m.; laborer; dis. Aug. 24, '61.

- Thomas Ryan, b. Ireland, res. cr. Thompson, Ct.; 28; m.; laborer; dis. Aug. 24, '61.
- Joseph Sandback, b. England; 31; s.; operative; pris. B. B.
- Abram Sargent, b. unknown; m. i. July 29, '62; 31; m.; shoemaker; k. Ant.
- Thomas Say, b. New York, res. unknown, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. July 17, '63; 27; s.; laborer; wd. chin, shoulder Oct. 14, '63; tr. navy April 23, '64.
- John Schesler, b. Germany; 20; s.; operative; dis. Dec. 8, '62.
- George Scott, b. Canada, res. unknown, cr. Belchertown; sub.; m. i. July 29, '63; 22; s.; clerk; des. Aug. 23, '63.
- William Scott, b. England; 37; m.; spinner; k. B. B.
- John Shaffer, b. Germany, res. unknown, cr. Ashburnham; sub.; m. i. July 28, '63; 26; s.; laborer; des. Aug. 23, '63.
- Joseph Shaffer, b. Germany, res. unknown, cr. Weymouth; sub.; m. i. July 29, '63; 36; s.; baker; des. Aug. 23, '63.
- Samuel Sherburn, b. Vermont, res. unknown, cr. Athol; sub.; m. i. July 23, '63; 24; s.; farmer; des. Aug. 23, '63.
- Patrick Sheridan, b. Ireland, res. Boston, cr. Georgetown; m. i. April 15, '64; 21; s.; sailor; pris. June 22, '64; tr. Co. K, 20th, as pris.; m. o.
- Martin Sherman, b. unknown, res. cr. Worthington; m. i. Aug. 19, '61; 28; m.; farmer; wd. finger Ant.; des. Nov. 17, '63.
- Daniel Sherwood, b. Massachusetts, res. unknown, cr. South Danvers; sub.; m. i. Aug. 4, '63; 22; s.; laborer; wd. Oct. 14, '63; wd. elbow May 6, '64; tr. Co. K, 20th, as ab. wd.; m. o. as ab. wd.
- Sidney S. Shurtleff, b. unknown, res. cr. Russell; m. i. Oct. 21, '61; 19; s.; farmer; wd. arm Ant.; dis. Nov. 10, '62.
- Braman Sibley, b. res. cr. Brimfield; 24; s.; shoemaker; wd. hand Ant.; m. o. March 17, '64.
- William Sigil (Streidel), b. res. unknown, cr. Athol; m. i. July 25, '63; 26; s.; farmer; des. Sept. 13, '63; d. Feb. 17, '64, as pris.
- Charles Simpson, b. New York City, res. unknown, cr. Beverly; sub.; m. Aug. 5, '63; 19; s.; paper-stainer; des. Aug. 23, '63.
- Francis X. Sinzinger, b. Austria, res. cr. Woonsocket, R. I.; 28; s.; dyer; des. Nov. 2, '62.
- Albert H. Slater, b. Dudley; 18; s.; carpenter; wd. face Ant.; dis. June 4, '64.
- William Slatterly, b. North Adams, res. cr. Boston; 22; s.; teamster.
- James S. Slocum, b. unknown, res. cr. Millbury; m. i. Dec. 2, '61; 20; s.; clerk; k. Gett.
- Bernard Smith, b. Ireland, res. cr. Auburn; 20; s.; shoemaker; dis. Nov. 20, '62.
- James Smith, b. Albany, N. Y.; res. New York, cr. Bolton; sub.; m. i. July 31, '63; 21; s.; moulder; d. July 14, '64.
- Joseph T. Smith, b. res. England, cr. Dorchester; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 30; clerk; m. o. Dec. 31, '63.
- John Smith, b. Portland, Me.; res. New Bedford, cr. Fairhaven; m. i. March 14, '64; 28; s.; seaman; wd. side May 6, '64; d. July 14, '64.
- John G. Smith, b. New Jersey, res. unknown, cr. Beverly; sub.; m. i. Aug. 5, '63; 27; s.; waterman; wd. May 6, '64; tr. Co. K, 20th, as ab. wd.; m. o. as ab. wd.
- Thomas Smith, b. res. cr. unknown; sub.; m. i. July 17, '63; 24; des. Oct. 4, '63.
- William Smith, 1st, b. Germany, res. unknown, cr. Raynham; sub.; m. i. Aug. 5, '63; 26; s.; blacksmith; des. Aug. 28, '63.

- William Smith, 2d, b. Germany, res. unknown, cr. Attleboro; sub.; m. i. July 20, '63; 20; s.; farmer; des. Aug. 23, '63.
- Frederick Soder, b. Switzerland; 27; s.; rope-maker; m. in a. B. B.
- William Squires, b. res. Canada East, cr. Dartmouth; m. i. March 14, '64; 38; s.; farmer; pris. June 22, '64; tr. Co. K, 20th, as pris.; m. o.
- Francis Stantor, b. unknown; m. i. Dec. 12, '61; 26; s.; farmer; k. Gett.
- George H. Stephens, b. unknown, res. cr. Oxford; 18; s.; shoemaker; m. o.
- James Stevens, b. England; 21; s.; carpenter; pris., m. in a. B. B. No further record.
- Henry Stolz, b. Germany, res. New Jersey, cr. Weymouth; sub.; m. i. July 31, '63; 23; s.; machinist; des. Aug. 23, '63.
- George R. Stone, b. Sutton, res. cr. Dudley; 20; butcher; k. Ant.
- William Streidell, b. Germany, res. unknown, cr. Taunton; sub.; m. i. July 31, '63; 35; s.; confectioner; d. Feb. 17, '64.
- Patrick Sullivan, b. Ireland, res. Boston, cr. Beverly; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 27; m.; currier; d. Aug. 11, '64, as pris.
- Timothy Sullivan, b. Ireland, res. cr. Worcester; 39; m.; laborer. Never left state.
- Robert B. Swain, b. Ireland, res. Chelsea, cr. Gloucester; sub.; m. i. Aug. 4, '63; 29; m.; painter; wd. ankle May 11, '64; tr. Co. K, 20th; des. May 23, '65.
- Riley Thayer, b. Thompson, Ct.; 40; s.; operative; pris. B. B. No further record.
- John Timmins, b. unknown, res. New York City, cr. Charlton; m. i. April 15, '64; 35; m.; butcher; pris. June 22, '64; tr. Co. K, 20th, as pris.; m. o. June 22, '65.
- Charles Timon, b. Fitchburg, res. cr. Worcester; 18; s.; groom; dis. April 12, '62.
- Alfred Tourtellott, b. unknown; m. i. July 29, '62; 24; m.; carpenter; wd. leg Ant.; d. wds. Oct. '62.
- William M. Trescott, b. res. Royalston, cr. Yarmouth; m. i. March 10, '64; 22; s.; farmer; pris. June 22, '64; tr. Co. K, 20th, as pris.; d. Sept. 6, '64, as pris.
- Morris D. Tucker, b. unknown, res. cr. Windsor; m. i. Oct. 15, '61; 26; s.; farmer; wd. hip Gett.; dis. Jan. 7, '65.
- Elias B. Wakefield, 18; s.; shoemaker; dis. Dec. 7, '62.
- George Walker, b. Nova Scotia, res. cr. Springfield; 43; m.; teamster; pris. B. B.; dis. April 8, '62.
- Hiram Ward, b. Thompson, Ct.; res. cr. Douglas; 20; s.; shoemaker; wd. arm Ant.; dis. Feb. 23, '63.
- Francis M. Watkins, b. unknown, res. cr. Hinsdale; m. i. Oct. 30, '61; 21; s.; farmer; wd. hand, arm Ant.; dis. Dec. 5, '62.
- Henry A. Webster, b. unknown; m. i. Aug. 24, '62; 18; s.; book-keeper; tr. Signal Corps Dec. 5, '63.
- John Whalen, b. Ireland, res. cr. Thompson, Ct.; 23; m.; teamster; tr. 20th.
- Moses Wood, 26; s.; laborer; k. Ant.
- Frank R. Young, b. unknown, res. cr. Webster; 20; dis. Dec. 5, '62.

COMPANY K.

The members of this company were natives and citizens of Blackstone, and were credited on the quota of that town unless it is otherwise stated in each particular. For the history of this company before the date of muster, see pages 30-31.

Moses W. Gatchell, capt.; b. Smithfield, Ct.; 25; s.; mechanic; k. B. B. Leonard Wood. See Co. A. Capt. Co. K Dec. 20, '61-Aug. 1, '62.
Church Howe. See Field and Staff Officers. Capt. ass. Co. K Jan. 17, '63.
Edwin P. Woodward, ass. Co. K as capt. July 21, '63. Never m.
George W. Brown. See Co. A. Capt. Co. K Oct. 22, '63; m. o.

Elisha G. Buss. See Co. C. 1st lieutenant. Co. K, com. March 15, '63.
David M. Earle. See Co. F. 1st lieutenant. Co. K Nov. 16, '63-Dec. 10, '63.
I. Harris Hooper. See Field and Staff Officers. 2d lieutenant. Co. K Oct. 8, '61; 1st lieutenant. (com.) June 9, '62.
Dwight Newbury. See Field and Staff Officers. 1st lieutenant. Oct. 23, '63-Nov. 27, '63.
Edwin B. Staples, 1st lieutenant.; b. Providence, R. I.; 20; s.; bookkeeper; re. July 18, '62.

Caleb H. Arnold, sergt.; b. Uxbridge; 20; m.; painter; 1st sergt. Sept. 1, '62; 2d lieutenant. Jan. 3, '63; never m.; wd. breast Gett.; d. wds. July 20, '63.
George W. Bolster, sergt.; b. Uxbridge; res. cr. Mendon; 22; m.; bootmaker; 1st sergt. Aug. 3, '61; 2d lieutenant. June 9, '62; 1st lieutenant, com. Nov. 17, '62, ass. Co. C; re. March 18, '63.
Hans P. Jorgensen. See Co. A. 2d lieutenant. Co. K Jan. 8, '62-Feb. 4, '62.

Thomas Furnald, corp.; b. Dixfield, Me.; 23; s.; bootmaker; 1st sergt. March 17, '62; k. Ant.
Melvin Howland, 1st sergt.; b. unknown, res. cr. Worcester; 23; teacher; d. Aug. 28, '61. (First death in regiment.)
Samuel J. Simmons, p.; b. res. cr. Boston; 19; s.; machinist; corp.; sergt.; 1st sergt. Oct. 16, '63; wd. foot Gett.; wd. hand May '64; m. o.

Patrick Elliott, wagoner; b. Ireland, res. cr. Oxford; m. i. Aug. 8, '62; 24; s.; operative; sergt. Jan. 9, '63; lost leg Ant.; dis. Sept. 28, '63.
Richard Flaherty, p.; b. Ireland; 18; operative; wd. arm May '64; reën. Feb. 16, '64, as of Millbury; sergt.; tr. Co. E, 20th.
Henry W. Freeman, b. Smithfield, R. I.; 31; m.; painter; sergt. Jan. 9, '63; pris. B. B.; d. April 8, '63.
Charles H. Howard, p.; b. res. cr. Uxbridge; 20; s.; farmer; corp. Oct. 29, '61; sergt. July 12, '62; dis. Feb. 18, '63.
Daniel McGovern, corp.; b. Fall River; 23; s.; operative; sergt. Oct. 12, '63; pris. B. B.; wd. thigh Ant.; pris. May 12, '64.
John Mullen, sergt.; b. England; 18; s.; spinner; corp.; sergt.; wd. shoulder May '64; m. o.
Oscar Shore, sergt.; b. res. cr. Mendon; 22; m.; bootmaker; des. Oct. 17, '62.

George Williams, p.; b. Ireland; 19; s.; operative; sergt.; reën. Feb. 16, '64; pris. June 22, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th, as pris.; m. o.

William H. Burnham, p.; b. res. cr. Oakland, Ct.; 23; s.; operative; corp. Oct. '61; pris. B. B.; m. o.

James Burns, p.; b. Ireland; 25; s.; operative; corp.; pris. B. B.; d. wds. Sept. 9, '63.
 John B. Burns, corp.; b. England; 27; m.; weaver; pris. B. B.; wd. hand Ant.; dis. Oct. 27, '62.
 James H. Day, corp.; b. Bristol, R. I.; res. cr. Smithfield, R. I.; 21; s.; machinist; dis. Sept. 8, '62.
 Charles Gammage, corp.; b. England; 32; m.; weaver; pris. B. B.; dis. May 15, '62.
 James Hart, b. Ireland; res. cr. Holyoke; m. i. Aug. 8, '62; 22; moulder; wd. leg May '64; m. o.
 Munroe Hoyle, p.; b. Thompson, Ct.; res. cr. Putnam, Ct.; 18; s.; farmer; corp. Sept. '62; wd. leg Ant.; m. o.
 Michael Keating, corp.; b. unknown, res. cr. Worcester; 21; wd. thigh Ant.; dis. May 16, '64.
 Patrick Kelley 2d, p.; b. unknown; 20; s.; operative; corp. '62; wd. arm, breast Ant.; m. o. March 18, '64.
 John Maguiness, corp.; b. England; 23; s.; operative; dis. Oct. 6, '62.
 Thomas Powers, b. New Brunswick; 21; m.; weaver; corp. Oct. 21, '61; dis. July 12, '62.
 Eli Syminster, p.; b. England; 23; m.; weaver; corp. '62; k. May 31, '62.
 John E. Valentine, p.; b. Cape Vincent, N.Y.; res. N.Y., cr. Ashburnham; sub.; m. i. July 15, '63; 27; engineer; corp. July 3, '63; m. o. April 14, '64, to accept prom.
 Andrew J. Bellows, musician; b. Mendon; 17; s.; farmer; pris. June 14, '63; m. o.
 John E. Pharnes, musician; b. Palmer, res. Providence, R. I.; 23; m.; operative; tr. V.R.C. June 3, '63; reën. Jan. 4, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th; m. o.
 Hersey Estes, wagoner; b. Milford; 28; s.; carpenter; dis. March 30, '63.

PRIVATES.

Adam N. Baker, b. Philadelphia, Pa.; res. cr. Orange; m. i. July 31, '62; 26; soldier; k. Ant.
 Joshua Blackburn, b. England; 30; m.; weaver; wd. breast B. B.; m. o.
 William M. Black, b. Scotland; 23; s.; operative; des. Sept. 21, '61.
 Peter Bowlett, b. Whitehall, N.Y.; 25; s.; farmer; m. o.
 Patrick Bresnahan; b. unknown; m. i. July 31, '62; 38; m.; laborer; dis. Jan. 5, '64.
 Thomas Brown, b. Ireland; 20; s.; operative; wd. foot Gett.; m. o.
 Edward W. Bryant, b. Quincy; 25; s.; bootmaker; pris. B. B.; m. o.
 Michael Buckley, b. New Brunswick, res. Boston, cr. Rochester; m. i. March 11, '64; 21; s.; teamster; pris. June 22, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th, as ab.; m. o.
 Cincinnatus A. Buffum, b. Nova Scotia, res. cr. Burrillville, R. I.; 19; s.; operative; drowned B. B.
 E. R. Buffum, b. Salisbury, res. cr. Burrillville, R. I.; 21; s.; k. Ant.
 John R. Burns, b. unknown, res. cr. Worcester; m. i. July 23, '62; 28; laborer; pris. B. B.; wd. Ant.; dis. Sept. 19, '62.
 Charles Callahan, b. res. cr. Burrillville, R. I.; 19; s.; farmer; wd. bowels B. B.; m. o.
 Patrick Campbell, b. Ireland; 24; s.; operative; wd. Ant.; dis. May 13, '63.
 Owen Canty, b. Ireland; 21; s.; laborer; pris. June 22, '64; reën. March 9, '64; tr. Co. E, 20th, as pris.; m. o.
 Peter Carr, b. Ireland; 37; s.; operative; wd. hand Gett.; tr. V.R.C. Sept. 30, '63; dis. Aug. 27, '63.

- Charles Clark, b. Ireland, res. Salem, cr. Fairhaven; m. i. July 8, '64; 30; m.; farmer; tr. Co. E, 20th, as ab. sick; d. Dec. 21, '64, as pris.
- George W. Colvin, b. unknown; m. i. Dec. 9, '61; 35; s.; farmer; dis. June 16, '62.
- Michael Cosgrove, 18; s.; operative; d. Sept. 3, '62, wds.
- John Costello, b. Ireland; 22; s.; farmer; wd. eye, nose B. B.; dis. Dec. 18, '63.
- Patrick Coyle, b. Ireland; 31; s.; spinner; pris. B. B.; k. Gett.
- William T. Dame, b. Lawrence; 26; seaman; dis. April 9, '63.
- Hersey Estes, b. unknown; 28; dis. March 30, '63.
- David Farrar, b. England; 22; s.; operative; pris. B.B.; des. Sept. 28, '62.
- William Farrell, b. Cumberland, R. I.; 20; m.; mason; wd. side May '64; m. o.
- Henry Ford, b. Providence, R. I.; res. cr. Cumberland, R. I.; 19; s.; spinner; pris. B. B.; wd. hand Gett.; tr. V.R.C. Nov. 4, '63.
- Adin Fuller, b. Burrillville, R. I.; m. i. Aug. 1, '61; 23; s.; painter. Never left state.
- George Georgehegan, b. Ireland; m. i. March 22, '62; 26; s.; wool-sorter; tr. Co. K, 20th.
- William Gilbert, b. Ireland; 20; s.; spinner; k. Oct. 30, '63.
- William Gleason, b. Ireland; 21; s.; spinner; wd. leg Ant.; dis. Oct. 30, '63.
- Thomas Grace, b. Ireland; 20; s.; farmer; tr. R. I. Art. Feb. 7, '63.
- Albert C. Greene, b. Chesterfield, Ct.; res. cr. Burrillville, R. I.; 20; s.; farmer; wd. shoulder Ant.; m. o.
- Patrick Gray, b. Ireland, res. cr. Cumberland, R. I.; 22; s.; spinner; tr. V.R.C. June '64; m. o.
- Augustus Grobitz, b. Germany; 34; s.; weaver; pris., wd. leg B. B.; m. o. May 7, '62; d. June 14, '62.
- John Hancock, 22; m.; farmer; dis. April 10, '63.
- Peter Hansen, b. unknown, res. cr. Worcester; m. i. Aug. 9, '62; 20; des. July 9, '63.
- Edward Hanson, b. Mendon, res. cr. Milford; 20; s.; bootmaker; wd. thigh F. O.; dis. Nov. 4, '63.
- Thomas Hargraves, b. England; 29; s.; operative; dis.
- Edward Henderson, b. Ireland, res. cr. Millbury; m. i. Aug. 8, '62; 29; mason; wd. hand Gett.; dis. Dec. 23, '63.
- Richard Hixon, b. Ireland, res. unknown, cr. Millbury; 24; bootmaker; pris. B. B.; wd. Ant.; reën. Feb. 16, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th, as ab. wd.; m. o. as ab. pris.
- Henry Horton, b. unknown, res. cr. Worcester; m. i. Aug. 8, '61; 18; dis. Aug. 24, '61.
- James Howarth, b. England, res. cr. Grafton; 31; s.; farmer; dis. Dec. 15, '63.
- Adolphus Howe, b. res. cr. Leominster; 39; m.; farmer; dis. Oct. 29, '62.
- Patrick Hoyt, b. unknown, res. cr. Worcester; 31; k. Gett.
- John Ivory, b. Watertown; res. cr. Millbury; 23; s.; bootmaker; m. o. July 28, '64.
- Alonzo M. Jones, b. res. cr. Boston; 18; s.; caulker; lost leg May '64; d. June 5, '64, wds.
- Thomas Keating, b. Ireland; 21; s.; operative; wd. breast B. B.; des. Dec. 3, '63.
- James Keelan, b. unknown, res. cr. Worcester; 21; pris. June 22, '64; released May 12, '65; m. o. June 12, '65.
- Daniel Kelley, b. unknown, res. cr. Worcester; m. i. July 22, '62; 19; painter; wd. '62; dis. April 1, '63.

- Michael Kelly, b. res. cr. Millbury; m. i. Feb. 5, '62; 21; s.; shoemaker; wd. June 25, '63; tr. V.R.C. March 15, '64; m. o. Jan. 4, '65.
- Patrick Kelley 1st, b. Ireland; 19; s.; spinner; d. Oct. 15, '61.
- Thomas Kelley, b. Ireland, res. cr. Chicopee; m. i. July 6, '62; 25; s.; laborer; d. wds. Ant.
- Timothy B. Kennedy, b. Ireland; 21; s.; spinner; dis. Jan. 11, '65.
- Samuel B. King, b. unknown, res. cr. New York; 18; s.; spinner; wd. thigh B. B.; tr. V.R.C. Feb. 15, '64.
- William J. Knight, b. Adams, res. cr. Holyoke; m. i. Aug. 8, '62; 23; moulder; wd. leg May '64; m. o.
- Walter E. Lester, b. West Brookshire, Vt.; res. cr. Worcester; m. i. Aug. 1, '62; 27; baker; des. Sept. 17, '63.
- David Livingstone, b. Scotland; 39; s.; operative; wd. shoulder F. O., back Gett.; dis. May 14, '63.
- Edwin J. Locke, b. Norwich, R.I.; res. cr. Allendale, R.I.; 20; s.; spinner; wd. shoulder Ant.; reën. U.S.A. Oct. 28, '62.
- Martin McBride (McBridge), b. Uxbridge, res. cr. Worcester; 26; s.; operative; d. wds. April 27, '62.
- Alfred Maguiness, b. England, cr. unknown; 22; s.; mule-spinner.
- Patrick McElroy, b. Ireland; 23; m.; weaver; dis. Nov. 2, '62.
- Patrick McGahy, b. Ireland; 21; s.; bootmaker; pris. B. B.; dis. navy.
- Thomas McGlynn, 18; s.; m. o.
- Michael McKenzie, b. Elizabeth, N. J.; 19; s.; bootmaker; pris. B. B.; m. o.
- William Miller, b. Germany; 20; s.; box-maker; m. o.
- William Murphy, b. England; 20; s.; wool-sorter; dis. Dec. 23, '63.
- Christopher Nolan, b. Ireland, res. cr. Holyoke; m. i. Aug. 8, '62; 36; moulder; dis. Feb. 18, '63.
- Luke Nolan, b. Ireland, res. cr. Milford; 22; s.; bootmaker; wd. '62; tr. V.R.C. July 27, '63; reën. U.S.A.
- Edward Olney, b. res. cr. Uxbridge; 26; s.; operative; pris. B. B.; dis. Oct. 8, '62.
- Adam Peacock, b. England, res. cr. Slatersville, R. I.; 39; m.; iron-worker; pris. B.B.; wd. Oct. 14, '63; reën. Feb. 12, '64; tr. Co. G, 20th; m. o.
- Oscar S. Perry, b. Pittsburg, Vt.; res. cr. Yarmouth; m. i. March 10, '64; 18; s.; farmer; wd. hand May '64; tr. Co. G, 20th, as ab. wd.; m. o.
- E. F. Pond, b. res. cr. Milford; 23; s.; bootmaker.
- Rufus A. Rhodes, b. Worcester, res. cr. Grafton; 19; s.; farmer; wd. hand B. B.; wd. Ant.; dis. Jan. 19, '63, to reën. U.S.A.
- Dexter Richardson, b. unknown, res. cr. Burrillville, R. I.; m. i. Dec 11, '61; 24; s.; farmer; dis. Feb. 17, '63.
- Thomas Riley, b. unknown, res. cr. Lawrence; m. i. Dec. 5, '61; 37; operative; des. May 2, '62.
- David Rodgers, b. res. cr. Woodstock, R.I.; 20; s.; farmer; wd. shoulder Ant.; d. wds. Dec. 27, '62.
- James Shay, b. unknown, res. cr. Providence, R. I.; m. i. Nov. 26, '61; 17; s.; spinner; k. Ant.
- Andrew F. Simmons, b. Ireland; 34; s.; operative; pris. B. B.; drowned April 22, '62.
- Albert O. Smith, b. Foster, R.I.; 18; s.; operative; wd. thigh May '64; m. o.
- Joseph T. Smith, b. Sutton; 19; s.; spinner; wd. leg Ant.; d. wds. Ant.
- Manley S. Smith, b. Rockland, Me.; res. unknown, cr. Worcester; m. i. Aug. 12, '62; 34; seaman; des. Oct. 23, '63.

- Thomas Smith, b. Ireland; 21; s.; operative; dis. Dec. 8, '61.
 Henry Snell, b. unknown, res. cr. Medway; m. i. Jan. 30, '62; 25; m.; painter. No further record.
 John L. Starrett, b. Ireland; 24; m., weaver; k. Ant.
 James Stringer, b. England; 28; s.; soldier; k. B. B.
 James Sullivan, b. Ireland, res. cr. Uxbridge; 19; s.; spinner; dis. Aug. 18, '62.
 Jeremiah J. Sullivan, b. unknown, res. cr. Milford; m. i. March 17, '64; 24; m.; bootmaker; wd. breast May '64; tr. Co. K, 20th, as ab. wd.; m. o.
 George F. Sweatland, b. Attleboro; 21; m.; hostler; dis. Oct. 28, '62; reën. U. S. A.
 William Taylor, b. Ireland, res. cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. July 22, '63; 33; seaman; des. Aug. 23, '63.
 William Tell, b. Ireland, res. unknown, cr. Chatham; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 29; s.; saddler; tr. Co. K, 20th, as ab. sick; m. o.
 Edward Thompson, b. res. England, cr. Swampscott; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 28; s.; ship-carpenter; des. Aug. 23, '63.
 Stephen Thompson, b. Douglas, res. cr. Worcester; 29; m.; operative.
 John F. Thornton, b. unknown, res. cr. Worcester; 20; d. wds.
 John G. Thornton, b. res. cr. Grafton; 20; m.; clerk; pris. Ant.; m. o.
 Edward Toy, b. Ireland, res. cr. Weymouth; sub.; m. i. Aug. 1, '63; tr. V.R.C. March 23, '64; m. o. Sept. 8, '65.
 John F. Tozier, b. res. cr. Amesbury; sub.; m. i. July 15, '63; 21; s.; shoemaker; d. wds. April 27, '64.
 William H. Trowbridge, b. Camden, N. J.; res. cr. Northbridge; 24; s.; painter; m. o.
 C. E. Tucker, b. Uxbridge; 23; s.; farmer; dis. Feb. 23, '63.
 W. A. Tucker, b. Mendon, res. Woonsocket, R. I.; 21; s.; shoemaker; pris.; wd.
 Jules Vivarez, b. England, res. Athol, cr. Greenfield; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 24; s.; cook; tr. Co. K, 20th, and m. o. as ab. sick.
 Thomas Waif, b. Persia, res. unknown, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. July 22, '63; 23; s.; sailor; tr. Co. K, 20th, as m. in a.; d. Aug. 2, '64.
 William Walters, b. res. cr. unknown; sub.; m. i. July 29, '64; 27; s.; laborer; des. Aug. 23, '63.
 Fred Warner, b. Germany; 32; s.; weaver; dis. Jan. 27, '63.
 John Warner, b. Scotland, res. unknown, cr. Sandwich; sub.; m. i. July 30, '63; 28; s.; mariner; tr. navy April 23, '64.
 Maxon R. Weatherby (Wetherell), b. Hardwick, res. cr. Athol; sub.; m. i. July 14, '64; 27; m.; mechanic; wd. foot May '64; tr. Co. K, 20th, as m. in a.; m. o. June 13, '65.
 Robert Welsh, b. unknown, res. cr. Holyoke; m. i. Aug. 7, '62; 22; moulder; wd. foot Ant., knee May '64; m. o.
 Thomas Welch, b. Ireland; 28; m.; yeoman; pris. Ant.; wd. hand May 13, '64; reën. Feb. 16, '64; tr. Co. K, 20th, as ab. wd.
 John Whalon, b. Ireland, res. unknown; 22; s.; operative; k. B. B.
 James White, b. unknown, res. cr. Worcester; 24; m. o.
 Joseph White, b. Burrillville, R. I.; 23; s.; hostler; m. o.
 Joseph White, b. Canada, res. unknown, cr. Rockport; sub.; tr. navy April 24, '64.
 Joseph White, b. Canada, res. unknown, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. July 22, '63; 23; sail-maker; tr. 20th; d. Aug. 2, '64, as pris.
 Noah Wilcox, b. Rowe, res. cr. Uxbridge; 39; m.; farmer; dis. (town record).

- Charles Wilder, b. New York, res. cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. July 21, '63 tr. navy April 23, '64.
- Charles Williams, b. England, res. unknown, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. July 16, '63; 22; sailor; des. Aug. 23, '63.
- Charles Williams, b. unknown, res. Boston; m. i. March 10, '64; 26; m.; seaman; tr. navy April 23, '64.
- George Wilson, b. England, res. cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. July 31, '63; 24; s.; tanner; tr. Co. E, 20th, as ab. sick; m. o.
- John Wilson, b. Wayne Co., N.Y.; res. unknown; cr. Rockport; sub.; m. i. Aug. 4, '63; des. Aug. 23, '62.
- William Wilson 1st, b. England, res. Pennsylvania, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. July 16, '63; 27; s.; sailor; tr. Co. E, 20th, as ab. wd.; m. o. as ab. sick.
- William Wilson 2d, b. res. New York, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. July 22, '63; 20; s.; laborer; des. Aug. 23, '63.
- Martin Windsor, b. res. cr. Gloucester, R. I.; 19; s.; spinner; dis. Feb. 18, '63.
- Charles Wood, b. Lansingburg, N.Y.; res. Greenfield, cr. Bernardston; 23; s.; pedler; pris. May 12, '64; tr. Co. K, 20th, as pris.; m. o. as ab. pris.
- Thomas Wood, b. unknown; res. cr. Holyoke; m. i. Jan. 22, '62; 24; tr. Co. K, 20th.
- J. S. Wright, b. Ireland, res. unknown, cr. Boston; sub.; m. i. July 16, '63; 23; s.; laborer; dropped as m. in a. Dec. 2, '63.
- F. F. Young, b. res. cr. Burrillville, R. I.; 18; machinist; wd. thigh Ant.; d. wds. Nov. 7, '62.

UNASSIGNED RECRUITS.

Records doubtful. The birthplace is unknown unless stated.

- Jerry W. Bishop, p.; b. res. cr. Russell; m. i. Nov. 22, '61; 18; s.; farmer; tr. 20th; m. o. Dec. 4, '64. May have been ass. Co. I.
- Thomas Cane, p.; b. Canada, res. Boston, cr. Malden; m. i.; May 20, '64; 21; s.; farmer; tr. Co. E, 20th; m. o.
- Joseph Hunt, res. Boston, cr. Newton; m. i. May 29, '64; 23; s.; seaman; pris. May '64; tr. Co. E, 20th, as pris.; m. o. as pris.
- Hiram Laffin, res. cr. West Boylston; m. i. Feb. 19, '62; 34; m.; bootmaker; pris. June 22, '64; m. o. Feb. 8, '65. In several companies for a short time each.
- Robert Mallory, p.; res. Tarrytown, N. Y.; cr. Abington; 24; s.; seaman; tr. Co. G, 20th, July 27, '64. m. o. July 16, '65, as ab. pris.
- Lysander Martin, p.; res. cr. Sutton; 26; farmer; d. Deep River, Va., June 19, '63, wds.
- John Miller, p.; res. cr. Cambridge; m. i. Nov. 22, '62; 23; merchant; des. Sept. 13, '63.
- John Moore, p.; res. Danville, Ct.; cr. Newton; m. i. May 19, '64; 29; s.; bootmaker; tr. Co. G, 20th, July 27, '64; m. o. July 16, '65, as abs. pris.
- Amos G. Plimpton, p.; res. cr. Worcester; m. i. July 31, '62; 19; yeoman; k. Ant. Sept. 17, '62.
- Richard Rockery, m. i. July 12, '61; 21; dis. Aug. 25, '61.
- Edward Smith, p.; res. cr. Warren; m. i. April 16, '64; 26; laborer; tr. navy July 27, '64.

Jeremiah Sullivan, p.; res. Springfield, cr. South Danvers; m. i. Aug. 5, '63; 28; m.; painter; d. Dec. 19, '63. Was he Jeremiah Sullivan, Co. I?

The men whose names are contained in the following list were apparently mustered into the service of the United States and assigned to the Fifteenth Regiment, but none of them have an record of service with that organization:

William Abbott, George Allen, Henry Allen, Peter Agnew, Joseph Ariand, Martin Armstrong, George August, Alfred Bachelor, Andrew Ball, William Blute, Kennedy Brennatt, Alfred Bryon, George H. Bulard, James Burke, John Carmody, Samuel Church, Joseph Crossman, Owen Connelly, John R. Davis, George DeMott, Alonzo Dewing, Henry Dowe, Albert Duprey, Thomas Fitzpatrick, Matthew Graham, Anselm Hammond, Patrick Hayes, George Hearn, Thomas Hill, Charles J. Hodges, Andrew J. Inman, John Jones, Jeremiah E. Kanaly, John Kelley, John Kelley, Charles Kline, Thomas Lynch, James McCauley, John McCauley, Maurice McDonald, Philip McGuire, Patrick McRyre, William Mackey, Samuel H. Marsh, John Miller, Luther C. Moore, Samuel A. Morey, George W. Parker, Aurelius G. Pease, John Pepinian, William Quinn, John F. Raymond, Frank Richardson, James Ross, John Ryan, George Smith, Peter Smith, Francis St. Marney, Frank H. Thompson, John Walter, Louis Wells, John W. Whitney, Harlow H. Willard, Peyton Willoughby, Jacob Winter, John Woods.

BAND.

The members of the band were residents of Worcester, and credited to that city, and musicians by occupation, they were all mustered in August 5, 1861, and were mustered out August 8, 1862, unless otherwise stated in each particular.

N. P. Goddard, leader; b. Millbury; 32; m.
 Clark R. Bancroft, b. Plainfield, Vt.; 27; m.
 Paul Bauer, b. Germany; 21; s.; wire-drawer.
 Andrew Fischer, b. Bohemia; 22; s.
 William Fischer, b. Bohemia; 28; m.
 William H. Folger, b. Albany, N. Y.; 37; m.
 Hollis J. Haven, b. Bolton; 23; m.
 Albert W. Kelley, b. Millbury; 21; s.; pistol-maker.
 T. O. Lucas, b. Webster; 34; m.; machinist.
 Chauncy B. Mattoon, b. Northfield; 22; painter.
 Robert Meade, b. Russia; 28; s.
 Henry J. Murray, b. Worcester; 24; s.; carpenter.
 Charles H. Odlin, b. Anson, Me.; m.; carriage-maker.
 Frederick Page, b. Stoughton; 23; s.
 Henry M. Peckham, b. Petersham; 25; m.; machinist.
 John Reidl, b. Bohemia; 25; s.
 Joseph Reidl, b. Bohemia; 22; s.
 Benjamin D. Ryan, 35; m.
 Joseph Sauer, b. Germany; 22.
 George H. Smith, b. Thompson, Ct.; 22; s.
 Christopher Specht, b. Bohemia; 24; s.
 Edwin H. Spring, b. Sterling; 21; s.; blacksmith,

APPENDIX.

The following account of the services of the men from the Fifteenth in the Twentieth, by Captain Henry T. Dudley, who commanded them, is appended:

"On the 27th of July, 1864, I joined the Twentieth Massachusetts, and had command of the remnant of the Fifteenth, consisting of men whose time had not expired, and those who had reënlisted. I do not think there could have been over twenty-five or thirty men present for duty, but there were many times that number still carried on the rolls of the Fifteenth. I proceeded to consolidate them into three companies, dividing them alphabetically. As we were on the move most of the time, I, being detailed to sit on board of inquiry, had not at the time of my capture, August 25, the rolls completed.

"The Twentieth, which included the men of the Fifteenth, was on the front line at Petersburg but once, I think. They were, most of the time, being moved from one point to another, and on one occasion we were employed in constructing a military road just in the rear of our line. The colored troops of Burnside being on our right, the Johnnies continually peppered them, but let us alone. We took part in both Deep Bottom expeditions. Our first Deep Bottom movement, of July 26th, seemed to us of the line and rank to be made with a view to draw the enemy from Petersburg. We marched in the night, along Butler's line, and it seemed, by the large number of fires on our route, that Grant wanted the enemy to discover us and imagine us as being a larger

body than we really were, and thereby deplete his lines at Petersburg, preparatory to the explosion of the mine. We did nothing of account, except lay in line of battle. We returned to Petersburg in time to have taken part in the grand coup if the mine assault had been properly conducted.

"On the second expedition we were sent to City Point. We took a large steamer and dropped down the river before dark, and during the night steamed up to Deep Bottom. Our regiment passed over several smaller boats to get ashore. We took a little more active part than at the former movement, fainting considerably and engaging in one charge, losing but few men, however. We suffered fearfully from the heat, much of our marching being along narrow roads hemmed in by tall pine trees.... We remained here a few days, and returned to Petersburg to take part in the Reams Station affair a few days later.

"We arrived at Ream's Station early on the 25th of August, 1864, and the Twentieth was thrown forward west of the Weldon railroad and about in front of the only buildings I remember seeing, three hundred yards, or perhaps more, into some woods as a heavy line of pickets. In the meantime other parts of the corps were tearing up the railroad in our rear. We saw no sign of infantry while we remained out. I should say about two P. M. we were drawn in east, or behind the railroad, and were shifted from point to point. At about the time the battle opened, we were in a field of broom-corn, which was ten feet high, and we seemed to catch all the bullets that were fired at a line in front of us on the railroad cut, which, along south of the station was, for some hundreds of yards, ten feet deep or more. While in the corn-field we faced south, from which direction Hampton's cavalry and artillery were sending their fire into our faces, and troops of Hill's corps from the west were enfilading our lines. The regiment had not fired a shot. Just before we were assigned the position where we were captured, we were moved into the railroad cut, being in the

meantime under enfilade fire of Hampton's artillery. He seemed to concentrate his fire in the cut, undoubtedly to demoralize us, preparatory to Hill's advance from the west, which was made within the next half-hour. From the cut we were moved back, perhaps fifty yards or less, to some rifle-pits across the railroad to the east. About five p. m. the enemy advanced on our front in line of battle, capturing the troops located there before they fired more than one or two volleys. All the time Hampton had been shelling down the cut.

"Previous to the assault, the enemy had concentrated in our front eighteen guns, and before the infantry assaulted, they had poured a furious fire into us. The Twentieth was unable to fire as the enemy advanced, on account of the troops in our front, the ground they occupied being quite as elevated as that which we occupied. The enemy swept through the cut and on to us in less time than it takes to write it, and captured the Twentieth, including the little remnant of the Fifteenth which had been connected with it."

When Carleton M. Deland was released from prison and exchanged, he was mustered as first lieutenant and given command of all the former members of the Fifteenth who remained in the Twentieth. On the muster out rolls which were dated July 16, 1865, these men made a brave showing, but very few of them had ever been in the ranks, and a still smaller number had been present for duty during any considerable portion of their term of service.

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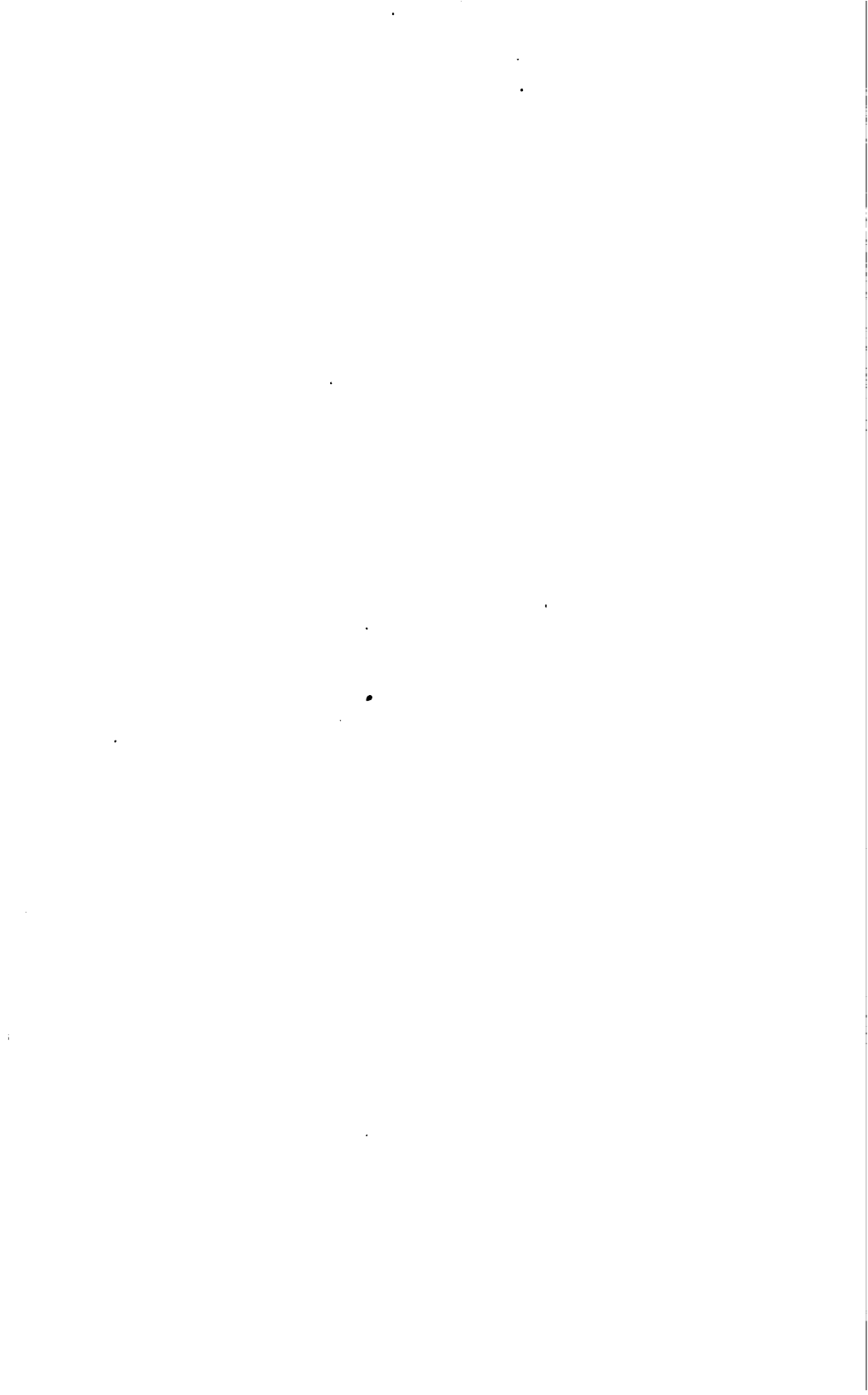
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